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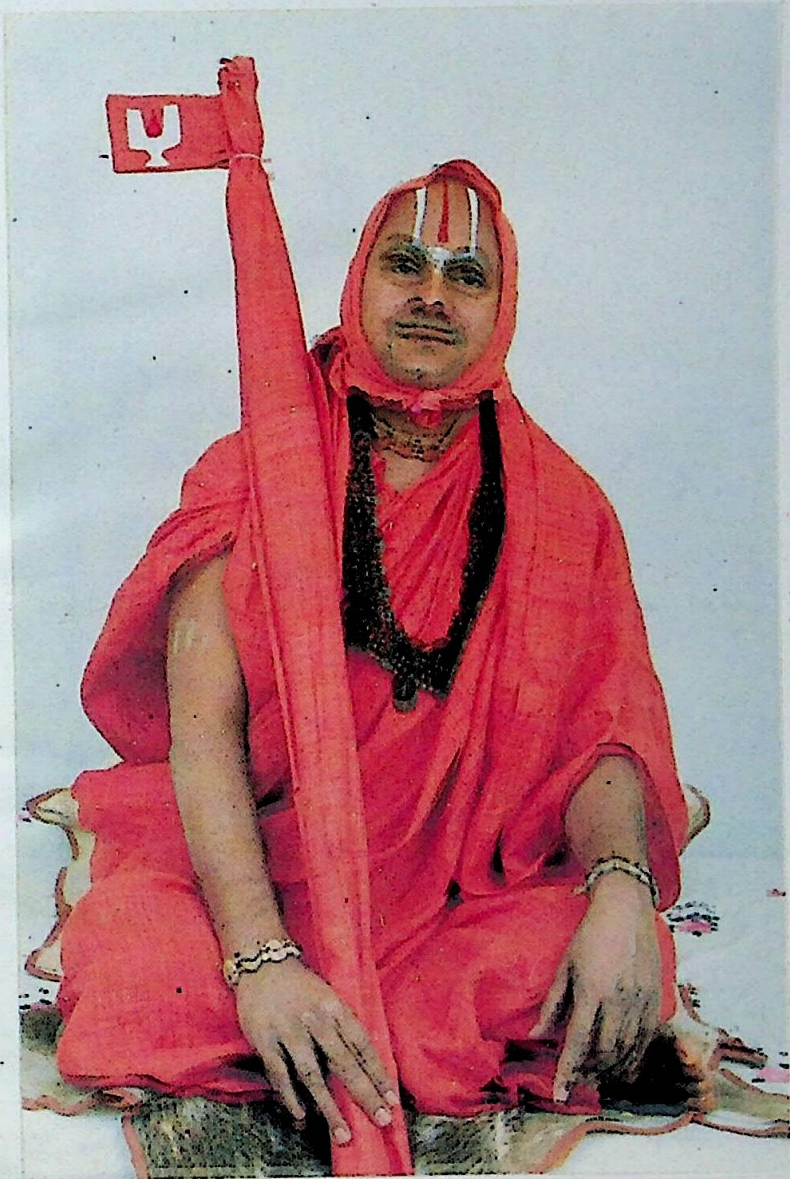
सम्पादकीय

राष्ट्रीय मानव संस्कृति शोध संस्थान, वाराणसी की वार्षिक शोध पत्रिका 'संस्कृति सन्धान' का प्रस्तुत अंक काशी के पंचगंगा घाट पर स्थित श्रीमठ के आचार्य श्री रामानन्दाचार्य स्वामी रामनरेशाचार्य जी के अभिनन्दन विशेषांक के रूप में प्रकाशित किया जा रहा है। काशी सदियों से भारत की प्रधान सांस्कृतिक राजधानी रही है। यह नगरी आदि काल से ही देवाधिदेव महादेव भगवान शंकर की तपस्थली रही है। इसी लिए इस नगरी का धार्मिक एवं दार्शनिक महत्त्व भी है। अर्धचन्द्राकार में तीन दिशाओं से गंगा द्वारा घिरी यह नगरी घाटों, मठों, मंदिरों के साथ साथ अनेक मतावलंबियों का भी आश्रय स्थली रही है। जैन, बौद्ध, शैव, शाक्त आदि के साथ साथ यहां की वैष्णव परंपरा भी बहुत पुरानी है। इसी परंपरा के अंतर्गत पंचगंगा घाट पर स्थित श्रीमठ की स्थापना जगद्गुरु रामानन्दाचार्य जी ने की थी जिनकी शिष्य परंपरा में कबीर, रैदास, धन्ना, सेना आदि अनेक संतों ने निम्न कुल व जाति में जन्म लेकर भी बड़ा कार्य किया और साधना, भक्ति एवं सामाजिक चिंतन की दिशा में उच्च वर्ण के लोगों से कहीं अधिक श्रेष्ठता अर्जित की।

ऐसी पौराणिक मान्यता है कि पंच गंगा घाट पर गंगा की पांच धाराएं मिल कर एक धारा के रूप में प्रवाहित हो जाती हैं। गंगा एवं भारतीय सनातन संस्कृति दोनों ही विविधता में एकता की प्रतीक हैं। पंचगंगा घाट स्थित 'श्रीमठ' एवं यहाँ की परंपरा दोनों गंगा एवं भारतीय सनातन संस्कृति के प्रतीक हैं। गंगा की पंचधारा एवं उनका एकाकार होकर एक धारा में प्रवाहित हो जाना स्वयं में अनेकता में एकता का प्रत्यक्षीकरण कराता है। यही कारण है कि इस घाट पर स्थित 'श्रीमठ' परंपरा ने मानव-मानव में कभी भेद नहीं माना और विभिन्न जातियों, संप्रदायों एवं मतमतावलंबियों को एकता, प्रेम एवं भाईचारे में बांधने का सतत प्रयास किया है। साथ-साथ सभी के लिए ग्राह्य सिद्धांतों का प्रतिपादन कर उसका व्यावहारिक रूप भी प्रदान किया है। संस्कृति सन्धान का प्रकाशन भी मूलतः इन्हीं भावनाओं के प्रचार-प्रसार के लिए हो रहा है जिसके प्रकाशन का आर्थिक भार श्रीमठ ने स्वीकार कर हमें, हमारी संस्था एवं संस्कृति सन्धान के प्रकाशन कार्य को प्रोत्साहित किया है। इसके लिए हम श्रीमठ एवं इसके आचार्य श्री रामानन्दाचार्य रामनरेशाचार्य जी के प्रति आभार प्रकट करते हुए उनसे सदैव स्नेह, सहयोग एवं आशीष की कामना करते हैं।

संस्कृति सन्धान के प्रस्तुत अंक के प्रकाशन में हम संस्था के सभी सदस्यों, लेखकों तथा अन्य सहयोगी जनों के प्रति आभार प्रकट करते हैं और उनके आगे भी सहयोग की

झिनकू यादव



अनन्तश्री विभूषित जगद्गुरु रामानन्दाचार्य
स्वामी रामनरेशाचार्यजी महाराज

भारतीय संस्कृति के सनातन आचार्य जगद्गुरु रामानन्दाचार्य रामनरेशाचार्य जी

अिनकू यादव*

काशी ने सदैव आडम्बरहीन तत्वान्वेषण को प्रश्रय दिया है। यहाँ की किंवदन्तियाँ एवं परम्परायें इस धारणा को पुष्ट करती हैं और उनके मुख से ऐसे तात्त्विक प्रश्न कराती हैं जो बाह्य आडम्बरों को पूर्णतः अस्वीकार कर मूल तत्व का परिचय कराती हैं। काशी ने नाम गोत्र को ही नहीं, अपितु योग्यताओं को प्रश्रय दिया और यही कारण है कि काशी के विश्रुत विद्वान प्रायः काशी से अन्यत्र स्थान के थे अथवा हैं जो यहाँ आये और इस नगरी ने उन्हें ऐसा अपनाया कि यहीं के होकर रह गये। इनमें से अनेक विद्वानों ने युग परिवर्तनकारी सिद्धान्तों को प्रतिपादित किया और कालान्तर में उनके वचनों की व्याख्या के मूल में अलग-अलग चिन्तन मार्ग स्थापित हुए। उनके सामने तो सिद्धान्तकारों के वचन मात्र होते हैं जिनके सहारे वे मूल तत्व का दर्शन करते-कराते रहते हैं।

काशी के पंचगंगा घाट पर इन्हीं अपेक्षाओं को पूरा करते हुए जगद्गुरु रामानन्दाचार्य श्रीमठ की स्थापना की। उन्होंने वेदान्त मठ को नया आयाम दिया। उनका मत प्रमाणभूत और तत्कालीन समाज की अपेक्षाओं के अनुरूप बना। श्रीमठ रामानन्द सम्प्रदाय का मूल एवं परम श्रद्धास्पद पीठ है। इसकी नींव आद्य रामानन्दाचार्य के गुरुवर्य स्वामी राघवानन्द जी ने दक्षिण से आकर रखी थी। सीता नाथ से प्रवर्तित वैदिक राम मन्त्र एवं अनादि राम भक्ति धारा को मध्य काल में (१४वीं-१५वीं शताब्दी में) परम सिद्ध, विलक्षण संगठनवादी, लोकोत्तर, उदार, अदम्य उत्साही स्वामी रामानन्द जी ने अनुपम तीव्रता प्रदान की जिसके कारण देश के कोने-कोने में राम भक्ति की परम मंगलमयी धारा फैल गयी। वर्तमान भौतिक सद्वृत्ति विनाशक वातावरण के बावजूद भी रामानन्द सम्प्रदाय के आश्रमों, अनुयायियों, सन्तों एवं प्रचार कार्य की तुलना किसी दूसरे सम्प्रदाय के साथ नहीं की जा सकती। इस सम्प्रदाय से निकली हुयी अनेक शाखयें भी आज लोक-कल्याण योजना में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा रही हैं।

स्वामी रामानन्दाचार्य ने इस समस्या को समझते हुये वैचारिक क्रांति को जन्म दिया और महत्वपूर्ण घोषणा की कि हर योग्य व्यक्ति को मुक्ति हेतु प्रयास करने का अधिकार है और यह योग्यता जाति, धर्म, लिंग, क्षेत्र आदि के आधार पर बाधित नहीं होती

*निदेशक, राष्ट्रीय मानव संस्कृति शोध संस्थान, वाराणसी।

है। अनन्तानन्द एवं सुरसुरानन्द की तरह ही सहज भाव से कबीर और रैदास को भी अपने निर्देशन से मुक्ति साधना में लगाकर उन्होंने अपने सिद्धान्त को व्यवहारिक रूप दिया। उनके सिद्धान्त काशी की अनमोल भेंट के रूप में पुष्पित हुये। समाज के सभी वर्गों में एक दूसरे के बीच की खाई मिट गयी और समाज विखण्डन की भयावह ज्वाला से बच गया तथा जन-जन का हृदय एक दूसरे के प्रति सहानुभूति एवं स्नेह के भाव प्रकाश से प्रकाशित हुआ।

कालान्तर में दीर्घबन्धु आचार्य की अन्तःप्रेरणा स्वरूप समाज के कुछ वरिष्ठ जनों ने जगद्गुरु रामानन्दाचार्य स्वामी भगवदाचार्य जी के महाप्रभु श्री राम के नित्य भक्ति परायण होने पर स्वामी शिवरामाचार्य जी महाराज के वृद्ध कन्धों से आकाश की तरह व्यापक समाज का गुरुतर दायित्व किसी युवा कन्धों पर सौंपने का निर्णय लिया और अत्यधिक अन्वेषण एवं आग्रह के बाद उन्हें ऐसा व्यक्ति मिल गया जो अपनी त्याग तपस्या और विद्या से विभिन्न सम्प्रदायों में ऐक्य की अनुभूति कराने में सिद्धहस्त था। आज सन्त समाज जिन्हें आचार्य रामनरेशाचार्य जी के नाम से जानता है।

श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी ने आचार्य पद पर प्रतिष्ठित होने के पश्चात आचार्य निष्ठा आचार्यादर्श एवं आचार्य सिद्धान्त को जनमानस में पुनः स्थापित करने का दृढ़ व्रत लिया। अतः इनके आचार्य पदालंकरण के पश्चात अखण्ड वैष्णव समाज के विभिन्न तटों पर सर्वजन सुलभ सेतु का निर्माण हुआ। श्रीमठ से वियुक्त हुए कबीरदासीय, रविदासीय, गरीबदासीय, रामस्नेही प्रभृति विभिन्न परम्परा के लोगों ने इस सेतु का समाश्रयण कर अपने मंजिल को सुलभ बनाने का सहसंकल्प लिया और एक ही वैष्णववट वितान की छाया में अपनी आध्यात्मिक क्रिया कलापों का कार्यान्वयन प्रारम्भ कर दिया।

बीसवीं सदी के उत्तरार्ध में दसौ वर्षों बाद पुनः रामानन्द पीठ के वर्तमान पीठाधीश्वर स्वामी श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी महाराज ने अपने धर्मसंघ की मूल भावना और महिमा को अधुण बनाये रखने का बीड़ा उठाया और इस देश के दलित, उपेक्षित एवं पिछड़े वर्गों को अपने धर्म ध्वज के नीचे लाकर उनमें धार्मिक व नैतिक जागरण लाने का संकल्प दोहराया। जिस तरह चौदहवीं शताब्दी में स्वामी रामानन्दाचार्य जी महाराज का यह अभियान अभूतपूर्व था वैसा ही बीसवीं शताब्दी में स्वामी श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी महाराज द्वारा चलाया गया अभियान अभूतपूर्व है।

रामभक्ति द्वारा के गोमुख श्रीमठ के आचार्य पदासीन आदर्शवादी आचार्य को एवं श्रीमठ के कद को सम्प्रदाय के कुछ संकीर्ण तथा स्वकीर्ति प्रिय लोगों ने अपने मठों की आकृति एवं अपने पाँच भौतिक सुगठित शरीर से मापने का प्रयास किया। लेकिन आचार्य स्वामी श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी के मन, वचन और क्रिया की आचार्य निष्ठा आदर्श एवं सिद्धान्त के साथ एकरूपता के फलस्वरूप जाति और वर्णवाद से ऊपर उठकर लोग वैष्णवता के वितान में विश्राम कर आचार्य निष्ठा एवं आचार्यादर्श के प्रति पदारूढ़ हुए। इन सब कार्यों को प्रोत्साहित करने में भी आचार्य श्री की भूमिका सराहनीय रही है।

भारत की एकता एवं अखण्डता को अधुण बनाये रखने के लिए सामाजिक सद्भाव तथा आर्थिक न्याय परमापेक्षित होता है। इसके लिए स्वामी रामनरेशाचार्य जी ने

बाहरी मूल्यों के आधार पर साम्यवाद की स्थापना न कर धर्म एवं आध्यात्म को एक सूत्र में पिरोकर समाज को वास्तविक साम्यवादी धरातल पर खड़ा करने का सफल प्रयास किया है। आचार्य श्री ने स्वामी रामानन्दाचार्य जी के समस्त शिष्यों को अपना गुरु भाई मानते हुए इस देश के समस्त पिछड़े वर्गों के साथ जो स्नेहमयी करुणा और आत्मीयता का भाव दर्शाया उससे मुझे पहली बार यह लगा कि धर्म और आध्यात्म के क्षेत्र में भी पिछड़ी जातियों का कोई मसीहा इस देश में वर्तमान है। हमारी संस्था, राष्ट्रीय मानव संस्कृति शोध संस्थान, वाराणसी, ने अप्रैल १९९२ ई० में 'भारतीय समाज में दलित एवं कमजोर वर्ग की स्थिति' पर एक तीन दिवसीय राष्ट्रीय सेमिनार का आयोजन किया था। उस सेमिनार के सफल आयोजन के लिए सर्व प्रथम इक्कीस सौ रुपये का आर्थिक सहयोग श्रीमठ के आचार्य श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी का ही रहा है। इस संदर्भ में मुझे स्मरण है कि आचार्य श्री ने मुझे आशीर्वाद देते हुए कहा था कि इस तरह के शैक्षिक क्रिया-कलापों में मेरा सदैव सहयोग एवं आशीर्वाद मिलता रहेगा।

परम्परागत वैदिक विचारों के मन्थन में लगी इनकी मनीषा में यही बात प्रस्फुटित होती है कि आद्य रामानन्दाचार्य के जीवन मूल्यों, उनके आदर्शों एवं सिद्धान्तों के दिव्यालोक से जनमानस का प्रकाशन ही दलितोद्धार एवं अछूतोद्धार का एकमात्र उपाय है। वर्तमान दलितोद्धार कार्यों में लगे लोग इस बात से सर्वथा दूर हैं। स्वामी रामनरेशाचार्य जी केवल ग्रन्थों के पठन-पाठन एवं अनुशीलन के ही पक्षधर नहीं हैं, वरन् इनका अनुशीलन वैदिक विशिष्टाद्वैत सिद्धान्त के निष्कर्ष पर आधारित है।

आचार्य श्री ने १९९२ में जबलपुर में आयोजित अखिल भारतीय सेन समाज के तृतीय अधिवेशन में अपने आशीर्वाचन व उद्बोधन से इस देश के समस्त सेन समाज को कृतार्थ किया। इससे सेन समाज को एक नयी प्रेरणा मिली। इसी बात से उत्साहित होकर मंदसौर के अनुरागी बापू श्री रामकुमार जी मरोठिया के मन में श्री सैन जी महाराज के नाम पर एक भक्ति पीठ की स्थापना का विचार आया। उनके द्वारा किये गये सत्प्रयासों से उज्जैन में हुए गत महाकुम्भ के अवसर पर अखिल भारतीय सैन भक्ति पीठ की स्थापना हुई उसके प्रथम पीठाधीश्वर के रूप में जोधपुर के स्वामी श्री अचलानन्दाचार्य जी पदप्रतिष्ठित हुए। यह आचार्य प्रवर जगद्गुरु स्वामी श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी की प्रेरणा, सहयोग व आशीर्वाद से ही संभव हो पाया है। ६६ वर्षों बाद पुनः श्री रामानन्दाचार्य जी महाराज के एक परम शिष्य संत श्री सैन जी महाराज की प्राण प्रतिष्ठा संभव हुई है और एक ध्वज के नीचे देश का समस्त सैन समाज संगठित व गौरवान्वित हुआ है। आप ही के सत्प्रयत्नों से इंदौर के गीता भवन में श्री सैन जी महाराज की मूर्ति स्थापित हुई। श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी महाराज रामानन्दाचार्य की पीठ पर विराजित होकर रामानन्द शिष्य परम्परानुसार ब्राह्मणों के अतिरिक्त अन्य जातियों के आचार्यों और साधु-संतों एवं महिलाओं को भी धार्मिक क्षेत्र में समान रूप से अधिकार दिया। आज जब देश जातिवाद, धार्मिक उन्माद, विद्वेष और घृणा से जल रहा है, रामनरेशाचार्य जी ने रामानन्द जी के द्वारा चलाये गये धार्मिक पुनर्जागरण के द्वारा सदियों से चले आ रहे ऊँच-नीच के भेद-भाव को मिटाकर निश्चय ही राष्ट्रीय एकता का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया है।

श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी महाराज के व्यक्तित्व में वे सभी क्षमताएं विद्यमान हैं जो सात सौ वर्ष पूर्व स्वयं रामानन्द जी में थीं।

“जाँत पाँत पूछे नहीं कोई हरि को भजे सो हरि का होई” वाले सूत्र में रामानन्द पीठ का उद्देश्य स्पष्ट निहित है और रामनरेशाचार्य जी महाराज ने श्री सेन (नाई), धन्ना (जाट), पीपा (दर्जी-क्षत्रिय), रैदास (चमार), कबीर (जुलाहा) आदि की पीठों की स्थापना कर उस क्षेत्र में वैसा ही नाम कमाया है जैसा कि रामानन्द जी ने। आज के संदर्भ में स्वामी जी के प्रवचनों का कितना महत्व है यह सब इस परिचय से स्पष्ट है। स्वामी जी की विद्वता एवं सहिष्णुता, मोहमाया से मुक्त सादा जीवन उच्च विचार सहज ही सभी को आकर्षित करता है। ज्यों-ज्यों दिन बीतते जा रहे हैं इनके श्रद्धालुओं की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है।

आद्याचार्य भगवान श्री राम ने “रामानन्दः स्वयंरामः प्रादुर्भूतो महीतले” रामानन्दाचार्य जी के रूप में लगभग सात सौ वर्ष पूर्व प्रगट होकर ‘वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्’ की सनातन परम्परा के अनुसार सबको अपना लिया। वर्तमान पीठासीन जगद्गुरु रामानन्दाचार्य स्वामी श्री रामनरेशाचार्य जी महाराज शताब्दियों पुरानी यशस्वी परम्परा को पूर्वाचार्यों की भांति आध्यात्मिक चेतना में गतिशील नेतृत्व देने का भगीरथ प्रयास किया। जिससे कबीर पन्थी, घीसा पन्थी, पल्टू पन्थी, दादू पन्थी, रसिकाचार्य रामस्नेही और रविदासीय मतानुयायी आदि एक सूत्र में गुंथे हुए माला की भांति दिखायी देते हैं।

श्रावण शुक्ला सप्तमी सं० २०५१ को जोधपुर के पुष्प भवन में आयोजित गोस्वामी तुलसीदास की जयन्ती के अवसर पर स्वामी श्री रामनरेशाचार्य ने गोस्वामी जी के विषय में अपने विचार प्रगट किये। अपने शब्दों को उद्धृत करते हुए उन्होंने बतलाया कि तुलसीदास जी को एक अत्यंत अवांछित स्थिति से ऊपर उठकर महात्मा की स्थिति तक पहुँचने का श्रेय राम नाम ही है “जो मिरत भयो माँग ते तुलसी तुलसीदास”। महाकवि तुलसीदास जी के समय में धर्म, मत-मतान्तरों में बैठा हुआ था। विभिन्न मतों के बीच जो असहिष्णुता और संकीर्णता व्याप्त थी, महाकवि तुलसीदास जी ने उसका परिहार किया। उन्होंने समन्वय का पथ अपनाया जिससे बिखराव समाप्त हुआ और उदारता का वातावरण बना। समन्वय के माध्यम से गोस्वामी जी ने लोकनायक की भूमिका निभायी। यह समन्वय आर्थिक मतान्तरों के मध्य ही नहीं वरन् लौकिक और ईश्वरीय भावों के मध्य भी था। आचार्य जी ने कहा कि रामचरित मानस में जहाँ राम के व्यक्तित्व का प्रतिपादन करते हुए उनके प्रति भक्ति पर बल दिया गया है वहीं उनके चरित्र में मानवीय गुणों का उत्कर्ष भी दिखाया गया है। मानस में वे आध्यात्म दर्शन के साथ रह-रह कर मानव मूल्यों की प्रतिष्ठा भी करते रहे हैं। इस समन्वय दृष्टि से तुलसीदास जी भारत के लिए ही नहीं, पूरे विश्व के लिए प्रासंगिक हैं।

रामानन्दाचार्य पीठ के आचार्यत्व की गरिमा मंडित परम्परा बहुत लंबी रही है। सात शताब्दियों से अधिक पुरानी इस विच्छिन्न परम्परा में सम्प्रति जगद्गुरु श्री रामानन्दाचार्य स्वामी रामनरेशाचार्य जी श्री मठ के पीठाधीश्वर हैं। उनके नेतृत्व में श्रीमठ के प्रकाश पुंज की आभा का जिस प्रकार का पुनरोदय हो रहा है और राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर फैली परम्परा को जागृत कर जिस नवचेतना का संचार करने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं उससे सम्प्रदाय की आध्यात्मिकता में एक नया मील का पत्थर स्थापित हुआ है।

जैनधार्मिक अनुष्ठानों में कला तत्त्व

सागरमल जैन*

जैन धर्म में अनेक कलाएँ धार्मिक जीवन के विधि-विधानों या अनुष्ठानों का अंग बन गयीं। वैष्णवों की भक्ति की अवधारणा के विकास ने जैनों को भी शुष्क तप एवं ध्यान के साधना मार्ग से मोड़कर भक्ति की धारा में जोड़ दिया और जैन परम्परा में भक्ति मार्ग का विकास ही धार्मिक जीवन में इन कृत्यात्मक कलाओं के उपयोग का आधार बना। सर्वप्रथम यह अवधारणा आयी कि देवगण तीर्थंकर के समक्ष भक्तिवशात् विभिन्न मंगलगान, नृत्य एवं नाटक प्रस्तुत करते हैं। हमें श्वेताम्बर आगम राजप्रशनीय में सूर्याभदेव द्वारा महावीर के समक्ष संगीत एवं नृत्य के साथ नाटक करने की कथा मिलती है। न केवल इतना अपितु वह गौतम आदि श्रमणों के सम्मुख इन्हें प्रस्तुत करने की अनुमति भगवान महावीर से माँगता है। महावीर मौन रहते हैं। उनके मौन को स्वीकृति का लक्षण मानकर वह इनका प्रदर्शन करता है। टीकाकारों ने महावीर के मौन का कारण श्रमणों के स्वास्थ्य आदि में बाधा बताया है। वस्तुतः यह कथानक आगम में रखने और उसके संबन्ध में महावीर का मौन दिखाने का उद्देश्य इन कलाओं की धार्मिक साधना के क्षेत्र में दबी जबान से स्वीकृति जताना था।

जैनों के धार्मिक विधि-विधानों के रूप में स्तवन की स्वीकृति थी ही। इसी को भक्ति भावना के प्रदर्शन का आधार बनाकर पहले देवों के द्वारा इनके प्रदर्शन का अनुमोदन हुआ, फिर गृहस्थों के द्वारा भी इनको किये जाने का अनुमोदन हुआ तथा गौतम आदि श्रमणों के माध्यम से यह बताया गया कि श्रमणों के लिए ऐसे नृत्य, संगीत के भक्ति कार्यक्रमों में उपस्थित रहना वर्जित नहीं है।

इस प्रकार तीर्थंकरों के प्रति भक्तिभाव के प्रदर्शन के रूप में नृत्य, संगीत और नाटक तीनों जैन अनुष्ठानों के साथ जुड़ गए। सर्वप्रथम स्तवन के रूप में सस्वर भक्ति-स्तोत्रों का गान प्रारम्भ हुआ और संगीत का संबन्ध जैन उपासना की पद्धति के साथ जुड़ा। जैन श्रमण एवं गृहस्थ उपासक भक्ति रस में डूबने लगे। फिर यह विचार स्वाभाविक रूप में सामने आया होगा कि जब देवगण नृत्य, संगीत और नाटक के द्वारा प्रभु की भक्ति कर सकते हैं तो कम से कम गृहस्थ उपासक को भी इस प्रकार से भक्ति करने का अवसर मिलना चाहिए। अतः जैन प्रतिमाओं के समक्ष न केवल वैराग्य प्रधान संगीत की स्वर लहरियां गुंजित होने लगीं, अपितु नृत्य और नाटक भी उसके साथ जुड़ गये। हमें साहित्यिक और पुरातात्विक ऐसे अनेक साक्ष्य मिलते हैं जिनके आधार पर हम यह कह

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सकते हैं कि ईसा की चौथी और पांचवी शताब्दियों में नृत्य, संगीत और नाटक जैन धार्मिक विधि-विधानों के अंग बन चुके थे।

तीर्थकरों के जन्मकल्याणक के अवसर पर देवी-देवताओं द्वारा संगीत, नृत्य और नाटक करने के उल्लेख कल्पसूत्र आदि प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में भी उपलब्ध हो जाते हैं। न केवल देवी-देवताओं द्वारा, अपितु तीर्थकर के पारिवारिक जन भी उनके जन्म आदि के अवसर पर नृत्य, संगीत आदि का आयोजन करते थे, ऐसे उल्लेख भी प्राप्त होते हैं। यह प्रचलित लोक व्यवहार ही जैनधर्म के धार्मिक अनुष्ठान का अंग बन गया। जैसा हमने पूर्व में उल्लेख किया है कि जैन धार्मिक अनुष्ठानों में जिन षडावश्यकों की प्रतिष्ठा है उनमें एक आवश्यक कृत्य स्तवन भी है। तीर्थकरों की स्तुति को धार्मिक साधना का एक आवश्यक अंग ही मान लिया गया था अतः इस स्तुति के साथ ही संगीत को जैन साधना में स्थान मिल गया। भक्ति रस से परिपूर्ण स्तवन पूजा तथा प्रतिक्रमण में गाये जाने लगे। आज भी जैन धर्म की सभी परम्पराओं में विभिन्न धार्मिक विधि-विधानों के अवसर पर भक्ति गीतों के गायन का प्रचलन है। मुख्य रूप से भक्ति गीत जिनपूजा के अवसर पर तथा प्रातःकालीन एवं सायंकालीन प्रतिक्रमणों के पश्चात् गाये जाते हैं। अमूर्तिपूजक सम्प्रदायों में जहाँ जिन प्रतिमा की पूजा-परम्परा नहीं है वहाँ भी प्रातःकालीन एवं सायंकालीन प्रतिक्रमणों के पश्चात् तथा प्रार्थना और सामायिक में भक्ति गीतों के गाने की परम्परा मिलती है। न केवल इतना ही हुआ अपितु जैन मुनियों के प्रवचन में भी संगीत का तत्त्व जुड़ गया। प्राचीन काल से लेकर वर्तमान समय तक जैन आचार्यों ने अनेक काव्य एवं गीत लिखे हैं और जो अक्सर मुनियों के प्रवचनों में गेय रूप से प्रस्तुत किये जाते हैं। आज भी प्रवचनों में विशेष रूप से अमूर्तिपूजक परम्परा के साधुओं के प्रवचन में ढाल, चौपाई आदि के रूप में गाकर प्रवचन देने की परम्परा उपलब्ध होती है। मूर्तिपूजक सम्प्रदायों में विविध प्रकार की पूजाएँ प्रचलित हैं और ये सभी पूजाएँ गेय रूप में ही पढ़ी जाती हैं। इसी प्रकार जिनप्रतिमा की प्रातःकालीन एवं सायंकालीन आरती के अवसर पर भी भक्ति-गीतों के गाने की परम्परा है। इस प्रकार संगीत जैन धार्मिक अनुष्ठानों का आवश्यक अंग बन गया है।

श्वेताम्बर और दिगम्बर दोनों ही परम्पराओं के जैन आचार्यों ने लगभग चौदहवीं शताब्दी में संगीतसमयसार, संगीतोपनिषद्सारोद्धार आदि संगीत के ग्रन्थों की रचना भी की है।

जिनभक्ति के रूप में संगीत की स्वीकृति का आगमिक आधार राजप्रश्नीयसूत्र है। उसमें सूर्याभदेव द्वारा भगवान महावीर एवं अन्य श्रमणों के सम्मुख विविध राग-रागिनियों एवं विविध वाद्यों के साथ संगीत एवं नाटक प्रस्तुत किये जाने के उल्लेख हैं। वस्तुतः राजप्रश्नीय का यह स्थल लाक्षणिक रूप से इस बात का संकेत करता है कि उसके रचनाकाल तक जैन मुनियों के लिए धार्मिक गीतों का गाना और सुनना वर्जित नहीं रह गया था। परिणामतः चैत्यवास के विकास के साथ जैन परम्परा में जैन मुनियों ने संगीत कला को प्रश्रय देना प्रारम्भ किया, जिसकी आलोचना सम्बोधप्रकरण में आचार्य हरिभद्र ने की है। वैराग्य की साधना में संगीत का क्या स्थान होना चाहिए यह एक विवादास्पद प्रश्न है किन्तु इतना निश्चित है कि मनुष्य को तनावों से मुक्त करने और अपनी चित्तवृत्ति को केन्द्रित करने में संगीत का बहुत महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है।

कृत्यसाध्य कलाओं में नृत्य और नाटक का भी महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है। सामान्यतया प्राचीन काल से नाटक लोकजीवन का एक अंग रहा है। अतः धार्मिक कृत्य के रूप में न सही किन्तु लोक व्यवहार के रूप में नाटक की परम्परा जैन धर्म के साथ प्राचीन काल से जुड़ी हुई है। सर्वप्रथम तो तीर्थंकर के जन्मोत्सव आदि मांगलिक अवसरों पर देवी-देवताओं द्वारा तथा सामान्यजनों द्वारा नाटक किये जाने के उल्लेख श्वेताम्बर जैन आगम साहित्य एवं दिगम्बर जैन पुराणसाहित्य में उपलब्ध होते हैं। वस्तुतः देवता तीर्थंकरों के सम्मुख नाटक करते हैं यह बात नाटक को धार्मिक जीवन का एक अंग बनाने की दृष्टि से ही प्रचलित हुई होगी क्योंकि इसी आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि देवता जब तीर्थंकरों के सम्मुख नृत्य-नाटक आदि कर सकते हैं तो गृहस्थजनों को भी जिनप्रतिमा के सम्मुख नृत्य, नाटक आदि करके अपना भक्तिभाव प्रदर्शित करना चाहिए। जैन परम्परा में धार्मिक जीवन के अंग के रूप में नृत्य एवं नाटक की परम्परा के मुख्य तीन उद्देश्य थे,

- १- तीर्थंकरों के प्रति अपनी भक्तिभावना का प्रदर्शन करना,
- २- ऐसे रुचिकर कार्यक्रमों द्वारा लोगों को धार्मिक क्रियाकलापों में आकर्षित करना और
- ३- उन्हें वैराग्य की दिशा में प्रेरित करना।

इस आधार पर जैन नाटकों का भक्ति और वैराग्यप्रधानरूप विकसित हुआ। हमें ऐसे भी संकेत मिलते हैं कि इस प्रकार के नाटक पर्याप्त प्राचीनकाल से ही जैन परम्परा में मंचित भी किये जाते थे।

जैन पुराणों के आधार पर यह बात स्पष्ट रूप से सिद्ध हो जाती है कि तीर्थंकर अपने व्यावहारिक जीवन में नृत्य आदि देखते थे। यद्यपि पुराणों में तीर्थंकरों द्वारा अपने गृहस्थ जीवन में नृत्य आदि में भाग लेने के उल्लेख मिलते हैं किन्तु इससे हम नृत्य एवं नाटक को धार्मिक साधना का एक अंग नहीं कह सकते हैं। वस्तुतः नृत्य एवं नाटक जैनों के धार्मिक जीवन के अंग तभी बने जब जैनधर्म अपने निवृत्तिमूलक तपस्याप्रधान स्वरूप को छोड़कर भक्ति-प्रधान धर्म के रूप में विकसित हुआ। जैन कर्मकाण्डों के साथ नृत्य-नाटक का संबन्ध 'जिन' के प्रति भक्तिभावना के प्रदर्शन के रूप में ही हुआ है। विशेष रूप से पूजा आदि अवसरों पर भक्त-मंडली द्वारा जिनप्रतिमा के सम्मुख नृत्य का प्रदर्शन आज भी किया जाता है। आज भी जिनमंदिर संगीत, नृत्य और नाट्यशाला के प्रदर्शन केन्द्र बने हुए हैं। यद्यपि जैन परम्परा में संगीत और नृत्य दोनों का उद्देश्य जिन के प्रति भक्तिभावना का प्रदर्शन ही है, मनोरंजन नहीं। इसी उद्देश्य को लेकर जैन कथानकों के आधार पर जैन आचार्यों ने मंचन योग्य अनेक नाटक लिखे हैं। आज भी विशिष्ट महोत्सवों एवं पंचकल्याणकों के अवसर पर जैन नाटकों का मंचन होता है। राजप्रशनीय में संगीतकला, वादनकला, नृत्य-कला और अभिनयकला का एक विकसित रूप हमें मिलता है जो किसी भी स्थिति में ईसा की छठी-सातवीं शती से परवर्ती नहीं है जिसकी संक्षिप्त झांकी नीचे प्रस्तुत है :-

“सूर्याभदेव ने हर्षित चित्त से महावीर को वंदन कर निवेदन किया कि हे भदन्त ! मैं आपकी भक्तिवश गौतम आदि निर्ग्रन्थों के सम्मुख इस दिव्य देव ऋद्धि, दिव्य देवद्युति एवं दिव्य देवप्रभाव तथा बत्तीस प्रकार की नाट्यविधि को प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ। सूर्याभदेव के इस निवेदन पर भगवान महावीर ने उसके कथन का न आदर ही किया

और न उसकी अनुमोदना ही की अपितु मौन रहे। तब सूर्याभदेव ने भगवान महावीर से दो तीन बार पुनः इसी प्रकार निवेदन किया और ऐसा कहकर उसने भगवान की प्रदक्षिणा की, उन्हें वंदन-नमस्कार कर उत्तर-पूर्व दिशा में गया। वैक्रियसमुद्घात करके बहुस्मरणीय भूमिभाग की रचना की, जो समतल एवं मणियों से सुशोभित था। उस सम तथा रमणीय भूमि के मध्यभाग में एक प्रेक्षागृह (नाट्यशाला) की रचना की, जो सैकड़ों स्तम्भों पर सन्निविष्ट था। उस प्रेक्षागृह के अन्दर रमणीय भूभाग, चंदोवा, रंगमंच तथा मणिपीठिका की रचना की और फिर उसने उस मणिपीठिका के ऊपर पादपीठ, छत्र आदि से युक्त सिंहासन की रचना की, जिसका ऊर्ध्व भाग मुक्तादानों से सुशोभित हो रहा था। तब सूर्याभदेव ने भगवान महावीर को प्रणाम किया और कहा हे भगवान ! मुझे आज्ञा दीजिए ऐसा कहकर तीर्थकर की ओर मुखकर उस श्रेष्ठ सिंहासन पर बैठ गया। नाट्य विधि प्रारम्भ करने के लिए उसने श्रेष्ठ आभूषणों से युक्त अपनी दाहिनी भुजा को लम्बवत फैलाया, जिससे एक सौ आठ देवकुमार निकले। वे देवकुमार युवाचित गुणों से युक्त नृत्य के लिए तत्पर तथा स्वर्णिम वस्त्रों से सुसज्जित थे। तदनन्तर सूर्याभदेव ने विभिन्न आभूषणों से युक्त बायीं भुजा को लम्बवत फैलाया। उस भुजा से एक सौ आठ देवकुमारियाँ निकलीं, जो अत्यंत रूपवती, स्वर्णिम वस्त्रों से सुसज्जित तथा नृत्य के लिए तत्पर थीं। तत्पश्चात् सूर्याभदेव ने एक सौ आठ शंखों और एक सौ आठ शंखवादकों की, एक सौ आठ श्रृंगों-रणसिंगों और उनके एक सौ आठ वादकों की, एक सौ आठ शंखिकाओं और उनके एक सौ आठ वादकों आदि उनसठ वाद्यों और उनके वादकों की विकुर्वणा की। इसके बाद सूर्याभदेव ने उन देवकुमारों और देवकुमारियों को बुलाया। वे हर्षित हो उसके पास आये और वंदनकर विनयपूर्वक निवेदन किये—हे देवानुप्रिय ! हमें जो करना है उसकी आज्ञा दीजिए। तब सूर्याभदेव ने उनसे कहा—हे देवानुप्रियों ! तुम सब भगवान महावीर के पास जाओ, उनकी प्रदक्षिणा करो, उन्हें वंदन-नमस्कार करो और फिर गौतमादि निर्ग्रन्थों के समक्ष बत्तीस प्रकार की दिव्य नाट्य विधि प्रदर्शित करो तथा नाट्यविधि प्रदर्शन की शीघ्र ही मेरी आज्ञा मुझे वापस करो। तदनन्तर सभी देवकुमारों एवं देवकुमारियों ने सूर्याभदेव की आज्ञा को स्वीकार किया और भगवान महावीर के पास गये। भगवान महावीर को प्रणाम कर गौतमादि निर्ग्रन्थों के पास आये। वे सभी देवकुमार और देवकुमारियाँ पंक्तिबद्ध हो एक साथ मिले, मिलकर सभी एक साथ झुके, फिर एक साथ ही अपने मस्तक को ऊपर कर सीधे खड़े हुए। इसी क्रम में तीन बार झुक कर सीधे खड़े हुए और फिर एक साथ अलग-अलग फैल गये। यथायोग्य उपकरणों, वाद्यों को लेकर एक साथ बजाने, गाने और नृत्य करने लगे। उन्होंने गाने को पहले मंद स्वर से फिर अपेक्षाकृत उच्च स्वर से और फिर उच्चतर स्वर से गाया। इस तरह उनका वह त्रिस्थान गान, त्रिसमय रेचक से रचित था। गुंजारव से युक्त था। रागयुक्त था। त्रिस्थानकरण से शुद्ध था। गूँजती वंशी और वीणा के स्वरों से मिला हुआ था। करतल, ताल, लय आदि से मिला हुआ था। मधुर था। सरस था। सलिल तथा मनोहर था। मृदुल पादसंचारों से युक्त था। सुनने वालों को प्रीतिदायक था। शोभन समाप्ति से युक्त था। इस मधुर संगीत गान के साथ-साथ वादक अपने-अपने वाद्यों को भी बजा रहे थे। इस प्रकार वह दिव्य वादन एवं दिव्य नृत्य आश्चर्यकारी होने से अद्भुत तथा दर्शकों के मनोनुकूल होने से मनोज्ञ था। दर्शकों के कहकहों से नाट्यशाला

को गुंजायमान कर रहा था।

तत्पश्चात् नृत्य-क्रीड़ा में प्रवृत्त उन देवकुमारों और देवकुमारिकाओं ने भगवान महावीर एवं गौतमादि श्रमण निर्ग्रन्थों आदि के समक्ष स्वस्तिक, श्रीवत्स, नद्यावर्त, वर्धमानक, भद्रासन, कलश, मत्स्य और दर्पण इन मंगलद्रव्यों का आकार रूप दिव्य नाट्याभिनय दिखलाया। तत्पश्चात् दूसरी नाट्य विधि प्रस्तुत करने के लिये वे एकत्रित हुए एवं उन्होंने भगवान महावीर एवं गौतम आदि निर्ग्रन्थों के समक्ष आवर्त, प्रत्यावर्त, श्रेणि, प्रश्रेणि, स्वस्तिक, सौवस्तिक, पुष्प, माणवक, वर्धमानक, मत्स्याण्डक, मकराण्डक, जर, मार, पुष्पावलि, पद्मपत्र, सागरतरंग, वासंतीलता और पद्मलता के आकार की नाट्य विधि दिखलायी। उसके पश्चात् उन सभी ने भगवान महावीर के समक्ष ईहामृग, वृषभ, तुरंग-अश्व, नर-मानव, मगर, विहग-पक्षी, व्याल-सर्प, किन्नर, रुद्र, सरभ, चमर, कुंजर, वनलता और पद्मलता की आकृति रचनारूप नाट्यविधि को प्रस्तुत किया। तदनन्तर उन्होंने एकतोवक्र, एकतश्चक्रवाल, द्विधातश्चक्रवाल, ऐसी चक्रार्ध-चक्रवाल नामक दिव्य नाट्यविधि प्रस्तुत की। इसी क्रम से उन्होंने चन्द्रवलि, सूर्यावलि, वलयावलि, हंसावलि, एकावलि, तारावलि, मुक्तावलि, कनकावलि, रत्नावलि की विशिष्ट रचनाओं से युक्त दिव्य नाट्य विधि का अभिनय किया। तत्पश्चात् उन्होंने चन्द्रमा और सूर्य के उदय होने की रचनावली उद्गमनोद्गमन नामक दिव्य नाट्यविधि का प्रदर्शन किया। इसके पश्चात् चन्द्र-सूर्य आगमन नाट्यविधि अभिनीत की। तदनन्तर चन्द्रग्रहण और सूर्यग्रहण होने पर गगन मण्डल में होने वाले वातावरण की दर्शक आवरणावरण नामक दिव्य नाट्यविधि का प्रदर्शन किया। इसके बाद अस्तमयनप्रविभक्ति नामक नाट्यविधि का अभिनय किया। उसके पश्चात् चन्द्रमण्डल, सूर्यमण्डल, नागमण्डल, यक्षमण्डल, भूतमण्डल, राक्षसमण्डल, महोरगमण्डल और गन्धर्वमण्डल की रचना से युक्त दर्शक मण्डलप्रविभक्ति नामक नाट्यविधि प्रस्तुत की। इसके पश्चात् वृषभमण्डल, सिंहमण्डल की ललित गति अश्व गति और गज की विलम्बित गति, अश्व और हस्ति की विलसित गति, मत्त अश्व और मत्त गज की विलसित गति आदि गति की दशक रचना से युक्त द्रुत विलम्बित प्रविभक्ति नामक दिव्य नाट्यविधि का प्रदर्शन किया। इसके बाद सागर, नगर प्रविभक्ति नामक अपूर्व नाट्यविधि अभिनीत की। तत्पश्चात् नन्दा, चम्पा, प्रविभक्ति नामक नाट्यविधि का प्रदर्शन किया। इसके पश्चात् मत्स्याण्ड, मकराण्ड, जार, मार, प्रविभक्ति नामक नाट्यविधि का अभिनय किया। तदनन्तर उन्होंने 'क' अक्षर की आकृति की रचना करके ककार प्रविभक्ति इसी प्रकार ककार से लेकर पकार पर्यन्त पाँच वर्गों के २५ अक्षरों के आकार के अभिनय प्रदर्शन किया। तत्पश्चात् पल्लव प्रविभक्ति नामक नाट्यविधि प्रस्तुत की और इसके बाद उन्होंने नागलता, अशोकलता, चम्पकलता, आम्रलता, वनलता, वासन्तीलता, अतिमुक्तकलता, श्यामलता की सुरचना वाली लता प्रविभक्ति नामक नाट्यविधि का प्रदर्शन किया। इसके पश्चात् अनुक्रम से द्रुत, विलम्बित, द्रुतविलम्बित, अंचित, रिभित, अंचितरिभित, आरभट, भसोल और आरभटभसोल नामक नाट्यविधियों का प्रदर्शन किया। इन प्रदर्शनों के पश्चात् वे सभी एक स्थान पर एकत्रित हुए तथा भगवान महावीर के पूर्व भवों से संबन्धित चरित्र से निबद्ध एवं वर्तमान जीवन संबन्धी च्यवनचरित्रनिबद्ध, गर्भसंहरणचरित्रनिबद्ध, जन्मचरित्रनिबद्ध, जन्माभिषेक, बालक्रीड़ानिबद्ध, यौवन-चरित्रनिबद्ध, अभिनिष्क्रमण-चरित्रनिबद्ध, तपश्चरण-चरित्रनिबद्ध,

ज्ञानोत्पाद-चरित्रनिबद्ध, तीर्थ-प्रवर्तन चरित्र से संबन्धित, परिनिर्वाण चरित्रनिबद्ध तथा चरम-चरित्रनिबद्ध नामक अन्तिम दिव्य नाट्य अभिनय का प्रदर्शन किया।" (राजप्रश्नीयसूत्र ६५-११२)

धार्मिक नाटकों के मंचन और जिन प्रतिमा के समक्ष नृत्य करने की परम्परा आज भी जैन धर्म में जीवित पायी जाती है। विगत शताब्दी में श्रीपाल मैनासुन्दरी नाटक के मंचन के लिए एक पूरा समुदाय ही था, जो स्थान-स्थान पर जाकर इसे एवं अन्य भक्ति प्रधान नाटकों को मंचित करता था और उसी के सहारे अपनी जीवनवृत्ति चलाता था। आज भी जैनों के धार्मिक समारोहों के अवसर पर जैन परम्परा के कथानकों से सम्बद्ध नाटकों का मंचन किया जाता है। अतः संगीत, नृत्य एवं नाटक एक जीवित परम्परा के रूप में आज भी जैन विधि-विधानों के साथ जुड़े हुए हैं। यह स्पष्ट है कि जैन साधना में नृत्य, संगीत आदि जिन कला परक पक्षों का समाहार हुआ है, उसके कारण तान्त्रिक परम्परा का प्रभाव है। यद्यपि इस माध्यम से जैनाचार्यों ने मनुष्य के वासनात्मक पक्ष का उदात्तीकरण ही किया है।

विद्याधरकुल/विद्याधरगच्छ

शिवप्रसाद*

उत्तर भारतीय निर्गन्ध संघ के अल्पचेल (बाद में श्वेताम्बर) सम्प्रदाय के अंतर्गत विद्याधरकुल (बाद में विद्याधरगच्छ) का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा। अब से लगभग ५०० वर्ष पूर्व तक विद्यमान इस गच्छ की उत्पत्ति कोटिकगण की विज्जाहरी (विद्याधरी) शाखा से हुई, ऐसा पर्यषणाकल्प¹ की "स्थविरावली"² (जिसका प्रारम्भिक भाग ई० सं० १०० के बाद का माना जाता है) से ज्ञात होता है। इसके अनुसार आर्य सुहस्ति के प्रशिष्य और स्थविर सुस्थित और सुप्रतिबुद्ध के शिष्य विद्याधर गोपाल से विद्याधरशाखा का उद्भव हुआ।³ विद्याधरशाखा ही आगे की शताब्दियों में 'विद्याधरकुल' के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हुई।

विद्याधरकुल (शाखा) से संबद्ध अगला साक्ष्य ई० सं० की छठी शताब्दी के मध्य का है जो गुजरात प्रान्त में आकोटा नामक स्थान से प्राप्त धातु की मितिबिहीन अम्बिका की प्रतिमा पर उम्कीर्ण है। डा० उमाकान्त प्रेमानन्द शाह ने इसकी वाचना दी है,⁴ जो इस प्रकार है :-

- 1- 1. (ॐ) दे (व) धर्मोथं (वि) य
- 1- 2. ह (र) कुले xxxह
- 1- 3. ज (र ? रि ?) वि (?) x

शाह जी ने उक्त प्रतिमालेख को लिपि के आधार पर ई० सं० की छठी शती के अंतिम चरण का बतलाया है।

विद्याधरकुल से सम्बद्ध अगला साक्ष्य भी आकोटा से ही प्राप्त हुआ है। यह साक्ष्य ऋषभदेव की प्रतिमा पर उत्कीर्ण है। इसकी वाचना निम्नानुसार दी गयी है⁵ :

- 1- 1. ॐ देवधर्मोयं
- 1- 2. वियहर कुलेयो
- 1- 3. गुण

लिपिशास्त्र के आधार पर शाह जी ने इस प्रतिमा लेख को ई० सं० ६५० का बतलाया है।⁶

आकोटा से ही प्राप्त ऋषभदेव और पार्श्वनाथ की धातु-प्रतिमाओं पर उत्कीर्ण लेखों में भी विद्याधरकुल का उल्लेख मिलता है। डा० शाह ने इन लेखों को ई० सं० ७०० का माना है।⁷

खानदेश से प्राप्त और वर्तमान में लालभाई दलपतभाई संग्रहालय, अहमदाबाद

*शोध अधिकारी, पार्श्वनाथ, विद्यापीठ, वाराणसी।

में संरक्षित भगवान आदिनाथ की धातु प्रतिमा पर उत्कीर्ण लेख में विद्याधरगच्छ ऐसा अभिधान मिलता है। प्रतिमा पर उत्कीर्ण लेख की लिपि के आधार पर डा० उमाकान्त प्रेमानन्द शाह ने इसे ई० स० की आठवीं शताब्दी का माना है।⁸

ई० स० की आठवीं शताब्दी में विद्याधर कुल में आचार्य हरिभद्रसूरि जैसे महान आचार्य हो चुके हैं,⁹ जिनके द्वारा प्रणीत छोटी-बड़ी अनेक महत्वपूर्ण कृतियाँ आज मिलती हैं। आवश्यकटीका की प्रशस्ति में इन्होंने स्वयं को आचार्य जिनभट (जिनभद्र) का प्रशिष्य और जिनदत्तसूरि का शिष्य एवं याकिनी महत्तरा नामक साध्वी का धर्मपुत्र कहा है :

“समाप्ता चयं शिष्यहिता नामावश्यकटीका। कृतिः
सिताम्बराचार्यजिनभटनिगदानुसारिणो विद्याधरकुलतिलकाचार्यजिनदत्तशिष्यस्य धर्मतो
याकिनीमहत्तरासूनोरल्पमतेराचार्यहरिभद्रस्य।”

आवश्यकटीका की प्रशस्ति

हरिभद्रसूरि के उपनाम के रूप में भवविरह नामक विशेषण प्रसिद्ध था। अष्टकप्रकरण, धर्मबिन्दु, ललितविस्तरा, पंचवस्तुटीका, शास्त्रवार्तासमुच्चय, योगदृष्टिसमुच्चय, षोडशक, अनेकान्तजयपताका, योगविन्दु, संसारदावानलस्तुति, धर्मसंग्रहणी, उपदेशपद, पंचाशक और सम्बोधप्रकरण की प्रशस्तियों में उन्होंने स्वयं के लिए ‘भवविरह’ शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।¹⁰

भद्रेश्वरसूरि द्वारा रचित कहावली (ई० स० की १२वीं शताब्दी) में इनके लिये ‘भवविरहसूरि’ शब्द का कई बार प्रयोग किया गया है। कहावली इनके दो शिष्यों—जिनभद्र और वीरभद्र का नाम मिलता है।¹¹ जबकि उत्तरकालीन विभिन्न ग्रन्थों में इनके शिष्यों के अन्य ही नाम दिये गये हैं।

निर्वाणकलिका (प्रायः ९५० ई० स०) के रचनाकार पादलिप्तसूरि (तृतीय) भी विद्याधरकुल के थे। उक्त कृति की प्रशस्ति¹² में इन्होंने स्वयं को संगमसिंह का प्रशिष्य और मण्डनगणि का शिष्य बतलाया है :—

श्रीविद्याधर वंशभूषणमणिः प्रख्यातनामा भुवि।

श्रीमन्सङ्गमसिंह इत्यधिपतिः श्वेताम्बराणामभूत्॥

शिष्यस्तस्य बभूव मण्डनगणिर्योवाचनाचार्य।

इत्युच्चैः पूज्यपदं गुणैर्गुणवतामग्रेसरः प्राप्तवान्॥ १ ॥

क्षान्तेः क्षेत्रं गुणमणिनिधिस्तस्य पादलिप्तसूरिर्जातः

शिष्यो निरुपमयशः पूरिताशावकाशः॥

विन्यस्तेयं निपुणमनसा तेन सिद्धान्तमन्त्रा-

ण्यालोच्यैषा विधिमविदुषां पद्धतिर्बोधिहेतोः॥ २ ॥

विद्याधरकुल से संबद्ध अगला साक्ष्य है वि० स० १०६४/ई० स० १००८ का प्रतिमालेख, जो शत्रुजंय पर स्थित पुण्डरीकस्वामी की संगमरमर की प्रतिमा पर उत्कीर्ण है।

श्रीअम्बालाल प्रेमचन्द्र शाह ने इसकी वाचना दी है,¹³ जो इस प्रकार है :-

श्रीमद्युगादिदेवस्य पुंडरीकस्य च क्रमौ ।

ध्यात्वा शत्रुंजये शुद्धयन् सल्लेखाध्यानसंयमैः ॥ १ ॥

श्रीसंगमसिद्धमुनिर्विद्याधर ()रकुलनभस्थलमृगांकः ।

दिवसैश्चतुर्भिरधिकं मासमुपोष्याचलितसत्त्वः ॥ २ ॥

वर्षे सहस्रे षष्ट्यां चतुरन्वितयाधिके दिवमगच्छत् ।

() सोमदिने आग्रहायणमासे कृष्णद्वितीयायां ॥ ३ ॥

अम्मेयकः शुभं तस्य श्रेष्ठिरोधेयकात्मजः ।

पुंडरीकपदासंगि चैत्यमेतदचीकरत् ॥ ४ ॥

वि० सं० १२५४/ई० सं० ११९८ में जालिहरगच्छीय देवप्रभसूरि द्वारा रचित पद्मप्रभचरित की प्रशस्ति के अनुसार काशहृद और जालिहरगच्छों का उद्भव विद्याधरकुल से बतलाया गया है।¹⁴

विद्याधरगच्छ से संबद्ध कुछ अन्य अभिलेखीय साक्ष्य भी प्राप्त हुए हैं जो वि० सं० १४०८ से लेकर वि० सं० १५३४ तक के हैं। इनका विवरण सारणी-१ में दर्शाया गया है।

उक्त प्रतिमालेखीय साक्ष्यों के आधार पर विद्याधरगच्छ के जिन मुनिजनों के नाम प्राप्त होते हैं, वे इस प्रकार हैं :

मुनिसंगमसिद्ध (वि० सं० १०६४)

उदयदेवसूरि 'प्रथम' (वि० सं० १४०८-१४२९)

देवप्रभसूरि (वि० सं० १४०९)

विजयप्रभसूरि 'प्रथम' (वि० सं० १४११-१४१३)

गुणप्रभसूरि (वि० सं० १४४०-१४४५)

उदयदेवसूरि 'द्वितीय' (वि० सं० १४५२)

विजयप्रभसूरि 'द्वितीय' (वि० सं० १५११)

|

हेमप्रभसूरि (वि० सं० १५१५-१५३४)

विक्रम संवत् की १६वीं शताब्दी के मध्य के पश्चात् इस गच्छ से संबद्ध कोई भी साहित्यिक या अभिलेखीय साक्ष्य नहीं मिलता, अतः यह माना जा सकता है कि इस समय के पश्चात् विद्याधरगच्छ का अस्तित्व समाप्त हो गया होगा।

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सारणी-१

क्रमांक	सम्बत्	तिथि/मिति	मुनि का नाम	लेख का स्वरूप प्रतिमालेख/सम्भलेख	प्रतिष्ठास्थान	संदर्भग्रन्थ
१	१४०८	वैशाख सुदि ५ गुरुवार	उदयदेवसूरि	आदिनाथ की धातु की प्रतिमा का लेख	शांतिनाथ जिनालय, शांतिनाथ पोल, अहमदाबाद	मुनि बुद्धिसागर, संपा० जैनधातुप्रतिमालेखसंग्रह भाग १, लेखांक १२५६
२	१४०९	वैशाख सुदि ७ गुरुवार	देवप्रभसूरि	सुविधिनाथ की धातु की प्रतिमा का लेख	विमलनाथ जिनालय, चौकसी पोल, खंभात	वही, भाग २, लेखांक ८१७
३	१४११	वैशाख वदि ५ शनिवार	विजयप्रभसूरि	धर्मनाथ की धातु की पंचतीर्थी प्रतिमा का लेख	गौडी पार्श्वनाथ जिनालय, उदयपुर	पूरनचन्द नाहर, संपा० जैनलेखसंग्रह, भाग २, लेखांक १११८
४	१४१३	फाल्गुन वदि ११	विनयप्रभसूरि	वायुपूज्य की प्रतिमा का लेख	जैन मंदिर, रोहेडा, सिरौही	वही, भाग २, लेखांक २०८४
५	१४२९	माघ वदि ७ सोमवार	उदयदेवसूरि	पार्श्वनाथ की पंचतीर्थी प्रतिमा का लेख	जैन मंदिर, नाणा	नाहर, पूर्वोक्त, भाग १, लेखांक ८८६, मुनि- जिनविजय, संपा० प्राचीन- जैनलेखसंग्रह, भाग २, लेखांक ४१०

क्रमांक	सम्वत्	तिथि/मिति	मुनि का नाम	लेख का स्वरूप	प्रतिष्ठास्थान	संदर्भग्रन्थ
६	१४४०	पौष सुदि १२ बुधवार	गुणप्रभसूरि	पार्ष्वनाथ की पंचतीर्थी प्रतिमा का लेख	चन्द्रप्रभ जिनालय, जैसलमेर	नाहर, पूर्वोक्त, भाग १, लेखांक २२७८
७	१४४५	फाल्गुन वदि १२ रविवार	गुणप्रभसूरि	पार्ष्वनाथ की धातु की प्रतिमा का लेख	विमलनाथ जिनालय, चौकसी पोल, खंभात	मुनि बुद्धिसागर, पूर्वोक्त, भाग २, लेखांक ८७८
८	१४५२	वैशाख वदि १ सोमवार	उदयेदेवसूरि	अजितनाथ की प्रतिमा का लेख		साराभाई मणिलाल नवाब, "राजनगरना ऐतिहासिक जैन अवशेषों" जैनसत्यप्रकाश, वर्ष १, अंक ८, पृष्ठ ३८२, लेखांक २१
९	१५११	वैशाख वदि ५ शनिवार	विजयप्रभसूरि	तीर्थंकर की धातु की प्रतिमा का लेख	गौडी जी का मंदिर उदयपुर	विजयधर्मसूरि, संपा० प्राचीनलेखसंग्रह, लेखांक

क्रमांक	सम्बत्	तिथि/मिति	मुनि का नाम	लेख का स्वरूप	प्रतिष्ठास्थान	संदर्भग्रन्थ
१०	१५१५	ज्येष्ठ सुदि ५ सोमवार	हेमप्रभसूरि	शांतिनाथ की धातु की प्रतिमा का लेख	अजितनाथ जिनालय, शेखनोपाडो, अहमदाबाद	मुनि बुद्धिसागर, पूर्वोक्त, भाग २, लेखांक १००१
११	१५१८	माघ वदि ७ शुक्रवार	हेमप्रभसूरि	शांतिनाथ की प्रतिमा का लेख	स्वामी जी का मंदिर, सहादतगंज, लखनऊ	नाहर, पूर्वोक्त, भाग २, लेखांक १६२४
१२	१५२०	पौष वदि ५ शुक्रवार	विजयप्रभसूरि के पट्टधार हेमप्रभसूरि	कुचुनाथ की चौबीसी प्रतिमा का लेख	बड़ा मंदिर, नागौर	नाहर, पूर्वोक्त, भाग २, लेखांक १३१३ एवं विनयसागर, संपा० प्रतिष्ठालेखसंग्रह, लेखांक ६०८
१३	१५३४	माघ सुदि ५	हेमप्रभसूरि	धर्मनाथ की प्रतिमा का लेख	महावीर जिनालय, ओसिया	नाहर, पूर्वोक्त, भाग १, लेखांक ७९८

प्राचीन यूनानी ओलिम्पिक उत्सव

शैलेन्द्र पांथरी*

प्राचीन यूनान के निवासी जीवन के समग्र विकास अर्थात् शरीर बुद्धि एवं चरित्र के संतुलित विकास में विश्वास रखते थे। उनके सार्वजनिक जीवन में विभिन्न प्रकार की स्पर्धाओं का विशिष्ट स्थान था, जो विशेषतः खेल-कूद से संबन्धित थीं। इनका प्रधान उद्देश्य था—शारीरिक शक्ति, ओज तथा क्षमता का सम्बर्द्धन एवं परिवर्द्धन। औसत यूनानी एस्कीलस व प्लेटो की रचनाओं को पढ़ने की अपेक्षा खेल-कूद में अधिक रुचि रखता था। होमर के महाकाव्य “ओडेसी” के नायक ओडेसियस ने कहा कि “जब तक मनुष्य जीवित रहता है तब तक इससे बढ़कर कोई अन्य गौरव नहीं है, जो वह हाथों-पावों के बल पर अर्जित करता है”। विख्यात प्राचीन यूनानी कवि सिमानीडीज का कहना था कि “स्वास्थ्य मनुष्य के लिए सर्वोत्तम है। उसके बाद स्वभाव का सौन्दर्य है। तीसरे स्थान पर ईमानदारी से अर्जित संपत्ति का उपभोग है और चौथे पर युवावस्था में मित्रों का बाहुल्य”।¹

खेलों का यूनानियों के जीवन के निजी तथा सार्वजनिक दोनों ही पक्षों पर व्यापक प्रभाव था। बच्चों को व्यायामशाला में भेजकर समुचित शारीरिक प्रशिक्षण प्रदान किया जाता था। उनका दायित्व पोलिस द्वारा ग्रहण किया जाता था, इस आशा में कि उनमें से कोई बालक भविष्य में नगर को महिमा-मण्डित करेगा। सुकरात की मान्यता थी कि आदर्श गणतन्त्र में स्त्रियों को भी पुरुषों के समान ही शिक्षा दी जानी चाहिए और उन्हें भी मल्ल-युद्ध और विद्यालय तथा व्यायामशाला में पुरुषों के साथ-साथ अर्धसैनिक प्रशिक्षण प्रदान किया जाना चाहिए। इसमें एक ही आपत्ति थी कि एथेंसवासियों को स्त्रियों का सार्वजनिक अभ्यास हास्यास्पद प्रतीत होगा, परन्तु उसने इस आपत्ति को निरर्थक ठहराया। स्पार्टा में तो बालिकाओं को शारीरिक अभ्यास कराया ही जाता था, ताकि वे वीर, साहसी एवं आत्मनिर्भर स्त्री, पत्नी व माता बन सकें। स्पार्टा में युवकों और खिलाड़ियों के लिये समानार्थी शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता था। व्यायामशालाओं में गेंद से सम्बन्धित खेलों के विशेष कक्ष को स्फेरिस्केरिया और इसके प्रशिक्षक को स्फेरिस्टाइ कहते थे।²

यूनानियों के जीवन में खेल-कूद मनोरंजन के साधन मात्र न थे, वरन् जीवन निर्वाह के साधन भी थे। अखिल यूनानी खेलों की अनेक स्पर्धाओं में पुरस्कार विजेता थेसासवासी थियागिनीज ने इतनी ख्याति तथा संपत्ति अर्जित की “जितनी की वह कृषि या व्यापार से भी नहीं कर सकता था।” प्राचीन यूनानी साहित्यकारों की अवशिष्ट रचनाओं तथा कलश चित्रों एवं अन्य शिल्पाकृतियों से, जिनका सम्बन्ध अधिकांशतया ई० पू० ६ठीं

*प्रोफेसर, इतिहास विभाग, महात्मा गाँधी काशी विद्यापीठ, वाराणसी।

शताब्दी से है, क्रीड़ा-अभ्यासों की विस्तृत जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। मल्ल युद्ध, तैराकी, घोड़े की नंगी पीठ पर सवारी, घोड़े पर सवार होकर बर्छा फेंकना आदि प्रायः समस्त यूनानी नागरिकों के सामान्य करतब थे। मनोविनोद क्रीड़ाओं में आखेट भी शामिल था। गेंद से खेले जाने वाले विविध खेल भी लोकप्रिय थे। १९२२ ई० में एथेंस में एक प्राचीन दीवार के उत्खनन के समय अकस्मात् कुछ शिल्पाकृत आधार प्राप्त हुए जिनमें से एक पर हाकी जैसे खेल का अंकन है जो दो दलों के बजाय पृथक्-पृथक् खिलाड़ियों के बीच खेला जाता था।¹³

खेलकूद की स्पर्धाओं के इर्द-गिर्द यूनानियों की राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं एवं नागरिक चेतना का भी विकास होता था। यूनानी राज्यों के निवासियों और यवन प्रजाति की संततियों के लिए, जो संपूर्ण भू-मध्य सागरीय क्षेत्र में बिखरी हुई थी, ये एकता के सूत्र थे जो उन्हें उनके सामान्य हितों और सामान्य मूल का स्मरण दिलाते थे। ये खेल-उत्सव उन्हें गैर-यूनानियों से भिन्न करने वाले आदर्श की प्रेरणा प्रदान करते थे।¹⁴ इसी कारण अलेक्जेंडर ओलिम्पिया को यूनान की राजधानी मानता था।¹⁵ यूनानियों की सभ्यता में खेलों का महत्व इस तथ्य से भी प्रकट होता है कि फारस के आक्रमण के समय भी क्रीडोत्सव स्थगित नहीं किये गये थे।¹⁶

यूनानी क्रीडोत्सव निजी, स्थानीय, नगरीय (नगर-राज्यीय) तथा अखिल यवन प्रकार के थे। प्रायः यूनानी नगर किसी उत्सव के अवसर पर खेल-कूद आदि की स्पर्धाओं का आयोजन करता था। कभी-कभी एकाधिक नगर मिल कर भी इस प्रकार का आयोजन करते थे, या तो पड़ोसी होने के नाते या किसी धर्म-पन्थ या धर्म-संघ (एम्फीक्टियानी) के सदस्य होने के नाते। इनमें से सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण थे वे अखिल यूनानी अर्थात् पैन-हेलेनिक खेल-कूद, जिनमें संपूर्ण हेलेनिक (यूनानी) संसार, अपने आधिकारिक प्रतिनिधियों के माध्यम से भाग लेता था। अखिल यूनानी उत्सवों में चार उत्सव प्रमुख थे, जो ओलिम्पिया, डेल्फी, नीमिया और कोरिन्थ के निकट स्थित थलडमरूमध्य (इस्थमस) के देवस्थान में आयोजित किये जाते थे। इनका आयोजन क्रमशः जीयस, अपोलो तथा पॉजीडॉन के सम्मान में किया जाता था। ओलिम्पिक व डेल्फीस में आयोजित पीथियन उत्सव चार-चार वर्ष पर आयोजित किये जाते थे। कुछ क्रीडोत्सव वार्षिक थे, जैसे एथेंस में डायोनिशियस देवता के सम्मान में आयोजित ग्रेट डायोनिशिया। कुछ उत्सव दो वर्ष पर और कुछ तीन वर्ष में एक बार आयोजित किये जाते थे। कुछ खेल-उत्सव अवसर-विशेष पर आयोजित किये जाते थे, जैसे ट्राय की लड़ाई में भाग लेने वाले एक प्रमुख यूनानी वीर पैट्रोक्लस की मृत्यु के बाद उसके दाहसंस्कार के अवसर पर। होमर कृत "इलियड" में पैट्रोक्लस के दाहसंस्कार के अवसर पर आयोजित क्रीडोत्सव से प्रकट होता है कि ई० पू० ९वीं शताब्दी में भी खेलों का यूनानियों, विशेषतः आयोनिअनों, के जीवन में अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण स्थान था। जेनोफेशन के नेतृत्व में "दस हजार यूनानियों के अभियान" के समापन के अवसर पर भी, जब वे हजारों मील लम्बे शत्रु प्रदेश से गुजर कर यूनान की ओर ले जाने वाले समुद्री मार्ग के किनारे पर पहुँचे थे, खेल-स्पर्धाओं का आयोजन किया गया था।

देवताओं एवं मानवों के स्वामी जीयस के सम्मान में आयोजित ओलिम्पिक खेल

सर्वाधिक प्राचीन एवं विख्यात माने जाते हैं। ओलिम्पिक उत्सव की महत्ता इसी तथ्य से स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि यूनानी इन उत्सवों की प्रथम ज्ञात तिथि ई० पू० ७७६ से ही अपने इतिहास की शुरुआत मानते हैं। श्रुतियों के अनुसार, ओलिम्पिक खेलों का सम्बन्ध मूलतः ओइनोमॉस तथा पिलोप्स नामक स्थानीय वीरों से था। आगे चलकर इन्हें जीयस द्वारा संरक्षित माना जाने लगा। कहा जाता है कि देवता भी इनमें भाग लेते थे। अपोलो ने हरमीज को दौड़ में और एरिस को घूँसेबाजी में परास्त किया था। इन खेलों का आरम्भ, पृथ्वी पर आधिपत्य के लिये देवताओं के बीच होने वाले मल्ल युद्ध में, क्रोनस पर जीयस की विजय के उपलक्ष्य में भी हुआ माना जाता है।⁷ एक आख्यान के अनुसार, हिराक्लस को अपने दुष्कृत्यों के प्रायश्चित्त के रूप में एलिस के राजा आजियस के विशाल अस्तबल को साफ करने का भारी तथा दुस्साध्य कार्य सौंपा गया था। हिराक्लस ने अल्फियस नदी को अस्तबल की ओर मोड़कर यह कार्य आसानी से संपन्न कर दिया, परन्तु इसके बदले में उसने राजा आजियस से उसकी घुड़साल का १०वां भाग मांगा। आजियस ने यह कह कर इनकार कर दिया कि हिराक्लस ने गीला तरीका अपनाया था। इस पर हिराक्लस ने आजियस को मार डाला और उसके अश्वों, सम्पत्ति तथा सिंहासन पर अधिकार कर लिया। कहते हैं कि अपनी दोषी अन्तरात्मा को शान्त करने और अपनी सफलता का उल्लास व्यक्त करने के निमित्त उसी ने सर्वप्रथम ई० पू० १२५३ में ओलिम्पिक उत्सवों की शुरुआत की।⁸

दो ओलिम्पिक उत्सवों के बीच की अवधि, ओलिम्पिआड, (जिसका नामकरण २०० गज की दौड़ के विजेता के नाम पर किया जाता था)⁹ के आधार पर तिथि गणना आरम्भ करने वाला टॉरोमीनियम का इतिहासकार टिमेइअस था। उस द्वारा स्वीकृत परम्परागत इतिवृत्त के अनुसार इन खेलों का हर चार वर्ष पर जुलाई-अगस्त में आयोजन ई० पू० ७७६ में आरम्भ हुआ।¹⁰ जबकि अनेक शोधकर्ताओं के अनुसार इन खेलों का आरम्भ ई० पू० ७७६ से बहुत पहले ही हो गया था, अनुमानतः ई० पू० १२५३ से ८८४ के बीच।

दक्षिण यूनान में पीसा नामक राज्य में स्थित ओलिम्पिआ के आल्टिस या पवित्र उद्यान में हर चौथे वर्ष, मध्य ग्रीष्म के बाद की दूसरी पूर्णिमा को, ओलिम्पिक क्रीडोत्सव आयोजित किये जाते थे। ओलिम्पिक देवालय पर, पीसा के उत्तर में स्थित, एलिस नगर भी इस पर दावा रखता था। स्पार्टा की सहायता से उत्सव की अध्यक्षता एलिस के हाथों में आने पर यह कथा प्रचारित हुई कि स्पार्टन लिकरगस व इलियन इफीटस ने ई० पू० ७७६ में इस उत्सव को पुनरुज्जीवित किया। इसी तिथि से प्रथम ओलिम्पिआड की गणना की जाने लगी। जब स्पार्टा ने मेसानिया पर अधिकार किया (ई० पू० ५६२ में), तो ओलिम्पिक देवस्थान पर पुनः एलिस का नियन्त्रण स्थापित हो गया। अब एलिसवासी अपने में से “हिलेनोडिकाई” अर्थात् “यूनानियों के निर्णायकों” की नियुक्ति करने लगे जो खेलों के आयोजन के लिए उत्तरदायी होते थे। इस विवरण से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि प्रारम्भ में ये उत्सव पिलोपोनेसस या दक्षिण यूनान तक ही सीमित थे। ई० पू० ६ठीं शताब्दी तक आते-आते ये, पिलोपोनेसस तक सीमित न रहकर, सम्पूर्ण यवनों के समारोह बन गये।

ई० पू० पांचवीं शताब्दी में यात्री व खेल-कूद के प्रेमी भू-मध्य सागर के सभी तटों से, फ्रांस, स्पेन, अफ्रीका, सिली, इटली तथा लघु एशिया से आते थे। अपनी स्थिति के कारण ओलिम्पिआ इन प्रदेशों के समस्त समुदायों को आकृष्ट करता था। ई० पू० ४७६

तक आते-आते विजेताओं की सूची में पूर्व में स्थित सिनोपे से पश्चिम में स्थित मार्से तक के खिलाड़ियों के नाम मिलने लगते हैं।¹¹ ये क्षेत्र प्रतियोगिता में भाग लेने और ओलिम्पिआ में देवालयों व कोषागारों की स्थापना के लिए अपने प्रतिनिधि भी भेजते थे। अधिकांश नगर प्रतियोगी भेजें या न भेजें प्रतिनिधि या दूत अवश्य भेजते थे और उनकी साज-सामग्री में मुक्तहस्त से व्यय किया जाता था। यूरीपिडीज ने अपने व्यंगात्मक नाटक "ओरोलिस" में खिलाड़ी की इस प्रवृत्ति के विरुद्ध तीक्ष्ण निन्दात्मक टिप्पणी की है।

ओलिम्पिक खेलों को सर्वाधिक महत्व ई० पू० ६ठी शताब्दी और ई० पू० ५वीं शताब्दी के प्रथमार्ध में प्राप्त हुआ। तत्पश्चात्, शरीर को आत्मा से कम महत्वपूर्ण घोषित करने वाले, दार्शनिकों आदि ने इन्हें तिरस्कृत करना आरम्भ कर दिया। फिर भी, हेलेनिस्टिक काल में इनका प्रसार अलेक्जण्डर द्वारा विजित सम्पूर्ण प्रदेशों में हो गया। नये राज्यों की राजधानियों में भी खेल उत्सवों की स्थापना हुई। अन्य महत्वपूर्ण नगरों में भी इनका आयोजन होने लगा। ये खेल-उत्सव केवल देवताओं के सम्मान के लिये ही नहीं, बल्कि राजाओं व सेनानायकों के लिये उल्लासपूर्ण अवसरों पर भी आयोजित किये जाते थे, साथ ही रोमन सम्राटों व उनके पारिवारिक सदस्यों के मनोविनोद के लिये भी,¹² परन्तु खेलों का परम उद्देश्य था शान्ति, सहयोग और मानवता के प्रति सदाशयता।

क्रीड़ा उत्सवों का मूल प्रायः अस्पष्ट है। ऐसा प्रतीत नहीं होता कि इनका मिलोअन क्रीट के उत्सवों के साथ कोई प्रत्यक्ष संबन्ध रहा हो जिनमें, हमारी जानकारी के अनुसार, वृषभ युद्ध (टारोमासी) और कलाबाजी (एक्रोबेटस) का प्रमुख स्थान था। जे० सी० स्टोबर्ट ने लिखा है कि "नॉसस (क्रीट) के घूंसेबाजों व वृषभ-मल्लों के उल्लेख से प्रकट होता है कि डोरियनों के आगमन से पूर्व भी एथलेटिक्स का यूनान में अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण स्थान था। परन्तु डोरियन व आयोनिअन मानवीय अथवा पुरुषोचित क्रीड़ाओं में निष्ठा रखते थे।¹³ सर्वप्रथम प्रसंग होमर के काव्य में मिलता है, ऐसे प्रतियोगितात्मक खेलों के रूप में, जिनमें विजेताओं को दिये गये पुरस्कारों ने पेट्रोक्लस के दाह संस्कार की शोभा बढ़ाई।

होमर के महाकाव्यों के आख्यानो में दाह-संस्कार के अवसर पर आयोजित अन्य अनेक क्रीड़ाउत्सवों का उल्लेख मिलता है। थेसाली में आयोल्कस के राजा पेलियस के सम्मान में आयोजित खेलों में अनेक विख्यात नायकों ने भाग लिया था जिनका सिप्सेलस की प्रसिद्ध मंजूषा पर अंकन किया गया। यह मंजूषा ई० पू० ७वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में कोरिन्थ के "निष्ठुर शासक" सिप्सेलस ने ओलिम्पिया में अर्पित की थी। इसी आधार पर कतिपय आधुनिक विद्वानों का मत है कि इन स्पर्धाओं का जन्म दाह-संस्कार में हुआ। स्पर्धाओं के दाह-संस्कार के अवसर से जोड़ने के कुछ अन्य प्रमाण भी उपलब्ध हैं। ई० पू० ८वीं शताब्दी के मध्य यूनान के कवि हिसिआड ने एम्फीडेमस के दाह-संस्कार के अवसर पर आयोजित गायन-स्पर्धा में भाग लिया था। कुछ विद्वान त्रासदी का विकास भी दाह-क्रिया के अवसर पर गाये जाने वाले समूह गीतों से मानते हैं।

"ओडेसी" में हम फेइसियन जाति के राजा अल्सीनॉस को अपनी प्रजा को अपने अतिथि यूलीसेस या ओडेसियस के मनोरंजनार्थ, खेल-कूद की स्पर्धा के आयोजन का सुझाव देते देखते हैं। यहाँ खेल-कूद का दाह-संस्कार अथवा धर्म से संबन्ध नहीं दिखता।

तथापित सामान्यतः माना जाता है कि यूनानी स्पर्धाएं किसी पवित्र धार्मिक अनुष्ठान के अंग के रूप में आयोजित की जाती थीं।¹⁴ खेल-कूद के उत्सवों का संबंध प्रायः यवन जगत के अत्यंत विविधतायुक्त धर्म पन्थों से माना जाता था। नौवें पीथियन ओड (गीत) में, साइरीन के विजेता धावक के गुणों की प्रशस्ति में, साइरीन में आयोजित खेलों में एझीना जीयस व धरती माता आदि के सम्मान में होने वाले खेलों का उल्लेख मिलता है। कभी-कभी स्पर्धा विशिष्ट रूप से धार्मिक स्वरूप को बनाये रखती थी, जैसे - मशाल दौड़ (लैम्पाडेडोमियायी) जो एथेंस में प्रचलित एक रिले रेस थी। अंगूर दौड़ (स्टैफिलोड्रोमोई) स्पार्टा में ग्राम देवता, अपोलो कार्नियास के सम्मान में आयोजित कार्नियन उत्सव का अंग थी। राबिन्सन, ब्यूरी आदि विद्वानों की सम्मति में ओलिम्पिक उत्सव सिद्धान्त व भावना की दृष्टि से धार्मिक थे, क्योंकि पौरुष एवं शौर्य-प्रदर्शन देवताओं को प्रसन्न करने के साधन माने जाते थे। सुप्रसिद्ध प्राचीन यूनानी कवि पिण्डार तथा अन्य कवियों की रचनाओं से प्रकट होता है कि यूनानी अपनी शारीरिक शक्ति एवं लालित्य को "स्वर्ग" अथवा देवताओं के सम्मान एवं सेवा में अर्पित करते थे। जिस प्रकार हिब्रू नृत्य एवं संगीत से जेहोवाह की स्तुति करते थे, उसी प्रकार यूनानी मल्लयुद्ध दौड़ तथा सुगठित शरीर के स्वस्थ सौंदर्य के प्रदर्शन से जीयस व अपोलो देवता का सम्मान करते थे। विल डूराण्ट के शब्दों में, स्वास्थ्य, सौन्दर्य और शक्ति की आराधना के रूप में, खेल-कूद यूनानियों की सच्ची, धार्मिक भावना के द्योतक थे।¹⁵ १९ वीं शताब्दी में ओलिम्पिआ में हुए उत्खनन में जीयस देवता का एक विशाल मंदिर तथा हाथीदांत से निर्मित ४० फीट ऊँची जीयस देवता की प्रतिमा मिली है। इसे खेलों के धार्मिक स्वरूप का परिचायक माना जाता है। ये क्रीड़ा-उत्सव निश्चित तिथियों पर किसी देवस्थान में आयोजित होते थे और धार्मिक अनुष्ठान के किसी समुच्चय से संबद्ध होते थे।¹⁶ पौराणिक परम्परायें इन खेलों को जीयस देवता से, या हिराक्लस या थीसियस जैसे भव्य चरित्रों से, या स्थानीय वीर नायकों से, जो इनके संस्थापक माने जाते थे, या जिनकी समाधि पर सर्वप्रथम इनका आयोजन होता था, जोड़ती हैं। कहीं-कहीं पिलोप्स को भी इनकी संस्थापना का श्रेय दिया जाता है।¹⁷

कुछ विद्वान किसी भी क्रीड़ा उत्सव का संबंध किसी धर्म-पंथ विशेष से स्वीकार नहीं करते, क्योंकि 'इनके उपरान्त कोई बलि आदि अर्पित नहीं की जाती थी, न उनका आयोजन किसी पवित्र देवस्थान में होता था, न यह संकेत मिलता है कि द्राय में उनका आयोजन मृतकों की आत्माओं की शान्ति के लिये किया गया था'। अतः उक्त विद्वज्जनों की मान्यता है कि उनका आयोजन, किसी विशाल जनसमूह के एकत्रित होने पर, शारीरिक व्यायाम के प्रति यूनानियों की स्वाभाविक रुचि को तुष्ट करने के निमित्त ही किया जाता था। यद्यपि प्रतियोगितात्मक क्रीड़ा उत्सव कभी-कभी स्वतः स्फूर्त एवं आनन्ददायक अनुष्ठान के रूप में होते रहे होंगे, जैसे "दस हजार सैनिकों के अभियान" के पश्चात् ई० पू० चौथी शताब्दी में तदपि ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि प्राचीन यूनानियों की दृष्टि में क्रीड़ा उत्सवों की प्रारम्भ से ही महत्ता थी, विशेषतः पितृ-पूजा व दाह-क्रिया के संदर्भ में।¹⁸

गौरव की आकांक्षा, प्रशंसा की त्पास, राष्ट्रीय गर्व और देवता के प्रति निष्ठा अथवा भक्ति मिल जुलकर प्रतियोगियों में जोश उत्पन्न करते थे; दर्शक भी प्रसिद्ध व्यक्तियों का निकट से दर्शन को उत्सुक होते थे। खिलाड़ियों के साथ ही लेखक,

दार्शनिक, वक्ता या साहित्यशास्त्री और कलाकार सभी इस विशाल जन-सम्मेलन के अवसर से लाभ उठाने वहाँ पहुँचते थे। उत्सव में उपस्थित ज्ञानी एवं विद्वज्जन महत्वपूर्ण विषयों पर अपने वक्तव्यों से उपस्थित जन-समूह का ज्ञानवर्द्धन करते थे। थेमिस्टोकलीज, अल्सीबायडीज, प्लेटो आदि के ओलिम्पिक उत्सव में उपस्थित होने के प्रमाण मिलते हैं। हीरोडोटस ने अपना ग्रन्थ ओलिम्पिक में पढ़ा था और प्रशंसित हुआ जैसा कि लूसियन ने लिखा है। जन-समूह ने इस अवसर पर उसकी कृति के नौ खण्डों को संगीत की नौ देवियों (नाइन म्यूजेज) के नाम प्रदान किये। लियाण्टनी के सोफिस्ट दार्शनिक जार्जियोस ने अपनी वाक्पटुता से प्रशंसा अर्जित की जिसकी स्मृति में उसकी प्रतिमा भी स्थापित की गयी। हिप्पियास जैसे विख्यात सोफिस्ट दार्शनिक भी इसमें उपस्थित होते थे। दूर-दूर से व्यापारी भी आते थे और व्यापार-वृद्धि का अवसर प्राप्त करते थे। अतएव ओलिम्पिक उत्सव एक मेले जैसा था जिसमें मदिरा से फलों तक, घोड़े व मूर्तियों तक विविध प्रकार की वस्तुएं विक्रय के लिये लाई जाती थीं। नट, बाजीगर व जादूगर तरह-तरह के करतब दिखाकर जन-समूह का मनोरंजन करते थे। मिनेण्डर ने पाँच शब्दों में इसका सार-संक्षेप प्रस्तुत किया है “भीड़, बाजार, नट-बाजीगर, मनोविनोद और चोर।”¹⁹

इन खेलों का कला, साहित्य, धर्म तथा इतिहास लेखन पर भी व्यापक प्रभाव पड़ा। कवि खिलाड़ी की विजय के उपलक्ष्य में काव्य-रचना करते थे जिसमें अत्युक्ति को यथार्थ के रूप में प्रस्तुत करते थे। कलाकार उसकी प्रतिमा गढ़ते थे। कम से कम ई० पू० ५वीं शताब्दी के प्रथम ५० वर्षों तक मीरॉन जैसे प्रमुख शिल्पियों और बेक्कीलिडीज व पिण्डार जैसे प्रख्यात कवियों ने विजयी खिलाड़ियों की कांस्य प्रतिमाएं निर्मित कर तथा उनके सम्मान में काव्य रच कर, ख्याति अर्जित की। ई० पू० ५वीं शताब्दी के बोइजोशियन कवि पिण्डार की ख्याति (पीथियन, नीमियन, इस्थमियन व ओलिम्पिक खेलों के अवसर पर) “इपीनीकिया” के लेखन में थी। पिण्डार ने इन गीतों की रचना “पवित्र तथा महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि के विषय में लिखने वाले व्याक्ति की भावना” से की थी। पिण्डार मानता था कि मल्ल-युद्ध या घुड़दौड़ में सफलता सफल खिलाड़ी के देश के इतिहास की महत्वपूर्ण घटना होती है। वह इसी स्वर में देवताओं व नायकों का उल्लेख करना भी अनुचित नहीं मानता था।

खेलकूद ने यूनान के कलाकारों को भी प्रेरित किया। व्यायामशाला, मल्लशाला एवं क्रीडांगन में उपस्थित मॉडलों से यूनान के शिल्पकारों ने प्रेरणा ग्रहण की। मूर्तिकारों के लिये यह वास्तव में अत्यंत लाभप्रद था कि वे सूर्य के प्रकाश में वस्त्रहीन खिलाड़ियों को अभ्यास करते हुए देखें। इसके फलस्वरूप उन्हें मानव शरीर की संरचना एवं प्रत्येक स्वाभाविक भंगिमा के अध्ययन का अद्वितीय अवसर प्राप्त हुआ। यही ग्रीक शिल्पकला की अद्वितीय उत्कृष्टता का रहस्य था, जिसमें यूनानियों की आकृतिविष्यक चेतना का विशेष योगदान था। चेहरे के समुचित अंकन से पूर्व उन्होंने शरीर-रचना की समुचित जानकारी में ख्याति अर्जित कर ली थी। ई० पू० ६ठी शताब्दी में बहुमुखी प्रतिभा वाले खिलाड़ियों के शारीरिक सौष्ठव ने प्रतिमा विज्ञान के उस आदर्श का जन्म दिया, जो मीरॉन तथा पालीक्लिटस में पूर्णता को प्राप्त हुआ।²⁰

खिलाड़ियों की प्रतिमाओं में दो प्रकार की प्रतिमाएं प्रधान हैं - एक उन विजेता

खिलाड़ियों की जो अपने मस्तक पर किरीट बांध रहे हैं। इसमें पालीक्लिटस मुख्य है, जिसकी आकृति-अंकन के उदाहरण यूनानियों की दृष्टि में क्लासिक या श्रेष्ठ थे, अर्थात् परिपूर्णता के प्रतिमान थे। उसके “डारोफोरस” या “बर्छा-वाहक” को आदर्श माना जाता था, जो संतुलन का प्रतिमान था। इस विषय पर पालीक्लिटस ने एक महानिबन्ध भी लिखा था। इसकी मूल कांस्य प्रतिमा उपलब्ध नहीं है केवल संगमरमर की हीनतर प्रतिकृतियाँ ही मिलती हैं। इन प्रतिकृतियों ने, स्थूलता व हृष्ट-पुष्टता की अतिशयता प्रदर्शित कर, मूल प्रतिमा के साथ अन्याय किया है। परवर्ती काल की शिल्पाकृतियों में खिलाड़ी को खुरचनी से तेल खुरचते प्रदर्शित किया गया है। खिलाड़ियों, विशेषतः मल्लों, को तेल से अभिभूषित किया जाता था।

डेलफी में फ्रांसिसियों द्वारा अन्वेषित “रथवाहक” की कांसे की प्रतिमा प्रमुख है। इस वस्त्रावृत आकृति में अद्भुत शान्ति और गरिमा की झलक दिखती है। रथवाहक के वस्त्र की लम्बी परतें, जो ओलिम्पिया स्थित जीयस के देवालय के भित्ति चित्र पर अंकित, एथेना के परिधान जैसी है, डोरिक देवालय के स्तम्भों से मेल खाती प्रतीत होती हैं।²¹ मीरान द्वारा गढ़ी हुई प्रतिमा, डिस्कोबोलस वास्तव में उत्कृष्ट प्रतिमाओं में से एक है।²² यह ५वीं शताब्दी की उन कुछ एक मूर्तियों में से है, जिनमें गतिविधियों की किसी श्रृंखला के एक क्षण का अंकन है। डिस्कोबोलस में एक ऐसे खिलाड़ी का तात्क्षणिक चित्रण है, जो भारी चक्र को संतुलित कर रहा है, उसे प्रक्षिप्त करने जा रहा है। ऐसा लगता है जैसे वह अगले ही क्षण अपने दाहिने पांव के बल पर घूमने वाला है। मीरान द्वारा निर्मित मूल प्रतिमा तो खो गई है इसकी अनेक रोमन प्रतिकृतियाँ सुरक्षित हैं, परन्तु वे मूल कांस्य-प्रतिमा के कोसों दूर हैं।

प्राचीन यूनान के प्रसिद्ध यात्री पॉजेनियस ने ओलिम्पिया के विषय में सूक्ष्म विवरण प्रस्तुत किये हैं। इनमें खेलों से संबन्धित अनेक अनोखी जनश्रुतियाँ भी शामिल हैं, उदाहरण के लिए पॉजेनियस ने बालक पिसिडोरस की प्रतिमा देखी, जिसे उसकी माँ, प्रशिक्षक के छद्म वेश में, ओलिम्पिया ले गयी थी। एक स्थान पर उसने लिखा है कि लोग कहते हैं कि डायोगोरस अपने पुत्रों एक्सूसिलास और डेमागेट्स के साथ ओलिम्पिया आया और जब युवकों ने पुरस्कार अर्जित किये, तो उन्होंने अपने पिता को कंधे पर उठा कर घुमाया। लोगों ने उन पर फूल बरसाये तथा डायोगोरस को अपने पुत्रों के कारण भाग्यवान बतलाया। डिमेन्थीज नामक बलशाली पुरुष ने पेन्नेटिआन में जीत हासिल की। जब उसने खिलाड़ी के रूप में अभ्यास करना बंद कर दिया, तो अपनी शक्ति आजमाने के लिये वह एक भारी धनुष को प्रतिदिन मोड़ा करता था। घर से बाहर रहने पर यह अभ्यास छूट गया। जब वह वापस आया और धनुष को मोड़ न सका, तो उसने चिता जलायी और लपटों में कूद कर जान दे दी। ग्लॉक्स नामक एक हलवाहा बालक को, उसके पिता ने एक दिन हल में फाल को हथौड़े के बजाय मुट्ठी से ठोकते देखा। वह उसे मुष्टि-युद्ध के लिये ओलिम्पिया ले गया, परन्तु घूँसेबाजी में प्रशिक्षित एवं दक्ष न होने कारण वह पराजित हो गया। अकस्मात् उसके पिता ने उसे हल प्रहार के लिये ललकारा। इस पर ग्लॉक्स ने वैसा ही किया। कोरिन्थवासी फिलोडास की घोड़ी “औरा” ने स्पर्धा के आरम्भ में ही अपने सवार को गिरा दिया, परन्तु उपयुक्त तरीके से दौड़ती हुई चक्कर लगाती रही। तुरही की आवाज

पर उसने अपनी चाल भी तेज की, निर्णायकों के पास सबसे पहले पहुँची और, यह जान कर कि वह विजयी हुई है, वहीं रुक गयी। क्रोटोन निवासी घूँसेबाज मिलो के विषय में कहा जाता है कि वह एक बछड़े को नित्य-प्रति तब तक उठाता रहा, जब तक कि वह बछड़ो पूरा बैल नहीं बन गया। इसके फलस्वरूप वह अत्यंत बलवान हो गया। वह अनेक प्रकार के करतबों का प्रदर्शन करता था और यही उसकी मृत्यु का कारण भी बना।²³ खिलाड़ी थियागिनीज मुख्य रूप से एक ऐसे नायक के रूप में मान्य था, जो रोगियों को स्वस्थ करता था, विशेष रूप से अपने उपासकों की मलेरिया से रक्षा करता था। वह थेसास द्वीप में और फिर बाहर भी पूजा जाने लगा। स्पष्ट है कि खेलों में अर्जित कीर्ति, जो दैवी कृपा का उल्लेखनीय प्रमाण थी, विशेष रूप से अनुकूल परिस्थितियों में, किसी व्यक्ति को देवताओं की श्रेणी तक पहुँचा सकती थी।

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PRIMAL PULSATION—NOTES ON THE SYMBOLISM OF *HRD-SPANDA*

—Javier Ugaz Ortiz*

The present work gathers some historical, hermeneutical, and semantic notes on the symbolism of *hrd-spanda*. This occurs in a process to understand the various employments of the term *hrdaya* chiefly in Kasmir Śaivism (KŚ), especially in its philosophical and esoteric acceptances. It unfolds *hrdaya's* significances through a disclosure of its symbolico-conceptual cluster.¹ Here we would like to deal with some aspects of the formula *hrd-spanda* which conjoins both aspects, *hrdaya* and *spanda*. Besides, as it shall be apparent, to understand the concept of *spanda* in itself quite concurs also with an effort to elucidate the concept of *hrdaya* in itself.²

If in one hand we would like to uncover the logic of the semantic fluctuations and transitions of this kind of symbolic notions and terms,³ on the other hand it would be to evidence that the imaginal value and meaning beyond the terms considered⁴, are at the center of a doctrinal-practical cluster of the systems under consideration. In other words, that they constitute a factual organizational semantic axis.

I

(1) Methodological considerations

The importance that the concept of *spanda* has in the Kasmir Śaiva philosophy is by no means an isolated occurrence : it concretizes and synthesizes a complex of notions and beliefs which has its roots most probably since the most ancient Indian cultural manifestations.⁵

To verify this affirmation we shall apprehend the essential and definitory nature and characteristics of *spanda*

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as grasped through an approach which mainly considers its relationship with *hṛdaya* (in occasions of quasi-identity), as sometimes enciphered in the formula *hṛd-spanda*. And this not only as explicitly stated by the traditional authors, but also by paying due note to the necessary cluster of notions,⁶ beliefs, etc., carried along or clustered around *spanda*. In other words, by attending those other concepts inhering in and relating with that *spanda* concept, when the system is apprehended in terms of its most fundamental, definitory structures. These last are those which constitute it, construct it from the inside, so to say; structures which may or may not surface to the level of conscious acknowledgment, i.e., exposition, of the very formulators or expounders of the system. Although, to be precise, in KS there is a high level of philosophical self-awareness, which has been ripened by the long and intense predating Indian (and notably Kāśmīri) philosophical history. Nevertheless it is normal to expect that some of the most basic conditioning and definitory features are taken for granted, as is the case in any other human cultural creation. Presuppositions—unconscious, interiorized cultural conditio-nings—not being always registered by the traditional authors in a conscious manner, surface only when contrasted with alien models, operation which brings them into relive. Finally, let us remark, what is essential, definitory, or even important to be stressed, is apperceived differently time to time and place to place, as dictated by the different ethno-historic episthemes.

Thence, to disclose in depth the semantic-philosophical domain of *spanda* we should obviously start by the definitions and characterizations given by the philosophers of the *spanda* school; then by noting the synonimal terms employed (which is more to say than merely those given by the tradition itself); and then by registering and analysing the conceptual clusters—at their various degrees of proximity, and at various degrees of proximity—in which they occur.

At this point it should be made clear that in our opinion any contemporary exposition or treatment of these Schools necessarily⁷ takes place in meta-or extra-systemic terms, in other words from outside the system, even if in sympathetic rapport with it. And this is so because dictated by the historico-

cultural distance⁸ that gulfs those cultural creations from our times. According to us differences about this point would consist in only degrees of awareness of this fact, and then of these awarenesses becoming a subject of science. Abdication of an in-between millennium of history, as well as of cultural-civilizational differences, is not only undesirable—as it would amount to be not only a denial of all that for which human culture, and thence these Schools, stand lastly for : creative self-affirmation—, it would just be a sheer impossibility. Once acknowledged the necessary historico-cultural distance, and its inforced by-product, the necessity of a meta-or extra-systemic approach to the subject, what it remains is just the improvement of the chosen methodological tools.

Hence that in the process of isolating and identifying the implicit or inhering notional clusters, obviously we should start by the explicit, ready-made given definitions, quotations, etc.—a procedure which is rather necessary to trace historical relationships. To stop, however, at this level would be methodologically and hermeneutically insufficient : although a certainly necessary first step it begs for a philosophico-hermeneutical endeavor to disclose, interpret and render them in terms intelligible to the contemporary mind—literal translations of technical terminology would only confuse the reader. In a depending analytical procedure it would be necessary to take recourse of more sophisticated, penetrating tools; to start with, to track for instance unrecorded or unacknowledged paraphrasings and borrowings, being these in occassions quite literally repeated. And we are meaning paraphrasings and borrowings not only from texts but, what is more relevant if, however, more difficult to apprehend and appreciate, of ideas. A third, more rarified yet more essential moment, would be the one of isolating the constituting structures of the governing logic of a given system in meta-systemic terms—hence unformulated, and indeed unformulable, it couldn't be otherwise, by the traditional expositors,—caught as they were within the mechanisms of their views, which lastly it means not only of their consciously uttered *weltanschauung*.

How much of this last outline we could deal with in the scope of few pages is not difficult to ascertain; besides surveying the general ground and the first level as noted

above, we would just be able to barely suggest something of the more advanced levels of analysis envisaged by it.

(2) *Inter-Darśanic presences of hṛd-spanda: the horizontal axis*

If in a manner the formule *hṛd-spanda* would appear to be repetitive, as both terms stand in relation of synonymy at certain technical level, it would certainly be reiterative emphasizing certain feature of both terms fact which moreover, could furnish us with the necessary linkage to acquaint ourselves with parallel occurrences of the *spanda* concept and of its cluster—when wrapped in different terminology and in other Indian philosophico-cultural contexts. A fact which would prove very rewarding in the long run, as we shall briefly see below. Here we have in mind not only Ayur-Vedic occurrences, which are more explicitly similar, but rather those conceptual presences as given in traditions as Tantric Buddhism). Philosophically speaking the notion of *spanda* signifies 'dynamism', 'action', *śakti*—as cosmologically it signifies 'vibration', mythologically Siva's power or partner, and when compounded with *hṛdaya*, 'pulsation' or heart's beat. Hence that in philosophy as well as in Indian physics it is to be considered as being equivalent to movement, motion (*kimciccalana*)—as *hṛdaya* also sometimes expresses—indicating more specially rhythmic motion; and rhythm implies 'phases'. *Spanda* in itself sequence-less, it nevertheless generates sequences⁹. It is not, and this is an important feature, a separate *tattva* in this system. It is related, although, with *śakti*, in fact it is one of her names—but of *svātantrya-śakti*, not of *śakti-tattva*, which although being in special relation to *svātantrya-śakti* it is nevertheless not the same. Not being a *tattva* amounts to say that it is not a substance. In Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, 'action' is a separate *padartha*, as substance and qualities also are. Action is not subsumed under any of them, substances or qualities. It inheres in substances, which are the corresponding categories to the Kāśmir Śaiva—and Sāṃkhya and Vedānta—*tattvas*. Moreover, the scope of action¹⁰ in Nyaya-Vaisesika is not exhausted by its treatment under the *padartha* class : among the *guṇas* (qualities) we find some which ought to be subsumed under the genus of 'action',

as are conjunction and disjunction; let us note in the way that both are in what consists the constructive and de-constructive activities of the Supreme, employing as building-blocks the atoms, thought these to be eternal or not. Furthermore, there are precisely these atomic realities (or substances) which are characterized by a continuous movement (*parispandana*).¹¹ Now, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika not only predates Kāśmir Śaivism philosophically, religiously as well it is related to more ancient forms of Śaivism, as the Pāśupata system.

In short, relating ultimate principles or substances with dynamism, motion, is not a Kāśmir Śaiva exclusivity, it rather is a re-affirmation, very much self-conscious, in the face of the Buddhist sequential denials of, first, substance, then of constitutive elements, and finally of exteriority. However, it is a re-affirmation which have assimilated very much of the rival camp, after submitting the borrowings to the suitable modifications.¹² It as well reflects Advaita Vedānta's staticism.

In this context is to be stressed the plausible special relevance of the doctrinal speculations of the Indian Medical Schools, which besides an intrinsic value would furnish pertinent explanations of key terms and concepts which are also employed in more properly philosophical and religious contexts, without being these, however, enough elucidated in those later literatures (as would be the conceptions of consciousness-body relationships, states of consciousness, psycho-physiology of sleep, and related ones). This relationship is the more significant in the case of KŚ, where an entire cluster of determinant concepts and practices appear to represent philosophical, cosmological, or mystical transferences or extensions of parallel notions of the medical science. In short, there is an abundant employment of same terms (and the preservation of their structured interrelationships), in KŚ and Āyur-Veda, in what respects to the term *hṛdaya* and related ones, a fact which entails the exercising of a truly symbolic vision of reality, as we have pointed out somewhere else.

Thus, not only the formule *hṛd-spanda* or *hṛd-spandana* indicate in Āyur-Veda the pulsation or rhythm of the heart,¹³ the heart itself is defined in terms of *spanda* : *saspaṇḍanam hṛdayam*. The heart being an autonomous or self-regulated system, the sanskrit term employed to designate this feature is no one else than *svātantra*. In this same context it occurs

sphūrana, indicating as well the pulsation of the heart, and also *prerana*, meaning the circulatory impulse of the heart. Medical literature also speaks of *hṛd-cakra* as well as of *hṛd-śūnya*. Another set of relationships is furnished through *ojas*, which is located in the heart : *ojas-kshaya* accounts for *mūrchā*, *moha*, *māraṇa*, *ajñāna*, among others, and *ojas-vyapath* for *glani*, *nidra*, *tandra*, etc. All these states are mentioned in KS, some of them in connection to *hṛdaya* and *susupti*;¹⁴ that this was an accepted scientific knowledge of those times is made clear by occurrences in Buddhist contexts of the same set of associations. Thus, the Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu¹⁵ in his *Abhidharmakośa*, for instance, speaks of how

the subtle existence of the dynamic continuity of a being (*bhavaṅga citta*) is found in trance state (*samādhī*), in deep-sleep (*suṣuptī*), in senselessness (*mūrchā*) and in death (*cyutī*)

terminology which is echoed in the ĪPv¹⁶ :

in the state of deep-sleep (*suṣuptī*), fainting (*mūrchā*) and meditation on non-existence 'No' (*abhava-samādhī*), the vacuum (*śūnya*)... is conceived as the very self 'I'

to which enumeration of states is to be added one of their cosmic equivalents, *pralaya*.¹⁷ In both instances, Vasubandhu's and Abhinavagupta's *citta* are located in *hṛdaya*. And let us not forget that Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* exposes the tenets of the Sarvāstivādhins or Kāśmīri Vaibhāṣikas.

Similar concepts are as well referred to in Advaita-Vedānta context as when, for instance, Vidyaranya in his introduction to the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* speaks of the "states of *suṣuptī*, death and swoon in which the heart-tie is absent".¹⁸

Going beyond the apparent casualness of these literal or semi-literal quotations or paraphrasings acknowledged or not (is it ever acknowledged the stock of common knowledge ?) what it transluces is that here we confront a net or cluster of conceptual and notional interrelationships constituting a theory of deep psychological strata which is set in connection,

on one hand, with cosmology (and cosmogony), while on the other its philosophical significance is brought forth. Both aspects together being employed at a practical level in the diverse yogic and tāntric, esoteric and mystic, procedures.¹⁹

What since Somānanda is indicated in KŚ, viz., the connection of the heart with consciousness illustrated by pointing how the heart is the first in being affected in case of sudden happenings, strong emotion, acts of will, etc., is as well taught in the Medical Schools, which, moreover, reach the same or similar psycho-physiological conclusions.

Kampa, also employed in the context of the psycho-physiological analysis of the volitive process, is also set in connection to heart as well as to *spanda* and *santana*, this last word of strong Buddhist reminiscences.

The complexity of medical exegesis is often illustrated in contemporary expositions of Āyur-Veda as well.²⁰

The phenomena of expansion and contraction of heart and its relation with the states of consciousness is already given in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. Gaudapada's *Kārikā* to the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* employs the term *spanda* in a similar context :

as through *māyā* the mind vibrates (*spandate*) into the appearance of two (*grahya* and *grahaka*), so through *māyā* the mind in the waking state vibrates (*spandate*) into the appearance of two (*grahya* and *grahaka*).²¹

Moreover, it is not only from Upanisadic Vedānta that Gaudapada derived the concept of *spanda*, it is contended that "using the terminology of Vijñānavāda, Gaudapada says that the world is the result of the vibration of *citta* (*citta spandita*)".²²

(3) Semantic-field of *hr̥d-spanda* : the vertical axis

The sanskrit term *spanda* conveys a number of senses. The dictionary, grammatical meaning of the term *spanda* encompasses the verbs to throb, palpitate; shake, tremble, quiver; to go, move. As a substantive (*spandah*) it means throbbing, palpitation; vibration, tremor, motion.²³ The Kāśmīr Saiva technical acceptance of the term represents rather

an elaboration than a departure from the basic, literal meaning, which is not the case with the term *hṛdaya*.

Thus, *hṛdaya-spanda* signifies the palpitation, pulse or beat of the heart : the living heart, the dynamism of the heart. So understood, the expression *hṛdaya-spanda* happens, for instance, in Abhinavagupta's (AG) short commentry (Iv) to the *Parātrimśika* (PT) 5-8, in which text as well (comm. śloka 9) the heart is defined as being of the form of a pulsating triangle (*trikoṇaparispandanarūpam etad hṛdayam*).²⁴ That the heart is essentially spanda (*hṛdayamspandanātmakam*) is ascertained in the *Mālinīvijayavartika* (MVv) II/19 by AG, as well as in the long commentary (v) to the PT p. 271.

The recognition of the idea of rhythmic pulsation as the central concept conveyed by the formule *hṛdaya-spanda* permits us to boldly organize a widely scattered and morphologically diverse mass of material expressing or employing the notion, concept, image, or symbol of rhythmic pulsation in synonimal and analogous ways, as being phenomenologically interrelated and thus helping us to understand one occurrence through another, and so as well the central concept of which they constitute instances.²⁵ There are, thus, cases in which the terms *hṛdaya* or *spanda* may not occur at the surface level of the discourse (or occur in complexedly compounded manners), instances which nevertheless convey the significance of pulsation and centrality and related notions, sometimes in quite evocative images. There are thus evident or overt, and buried or notional, kinds of occurrences. Furthermore, it is the exercise of the organizational value of these key ideas-symbols which tissue the continuous referring of the different cosmic, psychological, cultural, etc., domains among themselves what we spectate in the Tāntric (or Indian Esoteric at large) discourse. Hence, in our analysis and exposition here we shall emphasize the idea, meaning, or sense, rather than the term, as organizational axis.

Thus, in the *Mahārtha-Manjari* (MM) 21, 63), the heart-pulsation is compared to the rhythmic movement of the ocean, which in its turn leads us to those occurrences that speak of the ocean or sea of the heart²⁶ where the semantic value of rhythmic pulsation is implicit, contained or suggested.²⁷ Similarly, there are numerous references about rhythmic vibrations, pulsations or movements all of which participate

or are just particularizations of the archetypal, primal pulsating rhythmic dynamism which the compound *hṛd-spanda* indicates. Hence, the *Vijñāna Bhairava* (VB) 68 tells us about another related two-fold movement of expansion and contraction, the one of the breath (*prāṇa*) which is employed in awakening and leading *kundalini* upwards; in this last occurrence are present some essential concepts clustered around *spanda*, that is to say, the one of polarities (and hence duads), of contraction-expansion dynamism, and of *prāṇa*, the breath of life. The *PTv* p. 87 intertwines cosmic and physiological levels in an image of contraction and expansion which refers to the mantras *aham* and *mahā* as ciphered expressions of universal manifestation and absorption in the locus of the heart; a similar dynamism is expressed as well by the cryptic formula *sauḥ* and *khphrem*, suggestively called in the *Tantrāloka* (TĀ) 'heart of emission' and 'heart of dissolution' respectively of the universe. In fact, the meaning implied in these occurrences are vast and far reaching, and the correlated and synonimal terms various.²⁸

To summarize, the two most important notions conveyed by the image of *hṛdaya-spanda* are, therefore, movement, vibration, and then rhythm, rhythmic pulsation. In short, it designates a dynamic center. When raised to the status of symbol it designates the Supreme or the essence as 'creator', dynamic.

Although the doctrine of *spanda* (and the philosophical significances it carries along) is present everywhere in the different Kāśmir Śaiva Schools, it is in the texts of the *Spanda* School where we have to look for explicit and clear definitions. Thus in the *Spanda Nirṇaya* (*SpNir*) 1/1 is said :

this *śakti* of the Lord (i.e. *Svātantrya-Śakti*) who is non-moving, being of the nature of consciousness, is known as *spanda* in accordance with the root-meaning of the word signifying slight movement (*kiñcit calatta*).²⁹

In the *PTv* p. 207 is again affirmed that '*spandana* means some sort of movement (*spandana ca kinñiccalanam*)' and that this 'movement excludes all succession (*kramādi-parihārena*)'.³⁰

The *SpNir* III/13 gives as synonymus of *svātantrya-śakti* the following terms :

the highest (*parā*), fish-bellied (*matsyodarī*),
the highest being (*mahāsattā*), the glimmer of
light (*sphurattā*), wave (*ūrmī*), the heart (*hrdaya*),
Bhairavi, Goddess (*devī*), the flame (*śikhā*).³¹

All these terms, hence, stand in terms of interrelation and equivalence. A similar list of names is given in the *Ṣaṭtrimśattattvasandoha* (*ṢṬTS*) 2 comm., it encloses heart, essence (*sāra*), wave (*ūrmī*), and thought (*vimarśa*), which, however, are mentioned in this text as names of *icchā-śakti* which itself is also of the nature of divine freedom (*svātantrecchāśakti*). In the *PTv* (*ibid.*) the equivalents of *spanda* are rapture (*camatkra*), ebullition (*ucchalata*), wave (*ūrmī*), fish-bellied (*matsyodarī*). These traditional lists of names are highly synthetic and condense a significant number of correlated and implicit aspects which usually lay scattered and disperse through the width and breadth of these literatures.³² They are real keys to penetrate into this obscure, criptical texts. They remind us of the *nāman*, the litanies of the Hindu religion (present also in Buddhism) which are extremely rich in symbolical meanings.³³

Spanda is understood to be *purnāhantā* 'manifesting within itself this universe of diverse objects as if moving'.³⁴ In Kṣemarāja's introductory verses to *SpNir*, *spanda* is addressed as the 'flash of the perfect and complete I-consciousness' (*purnāhantāsphuratta*).

The interrelationships between will (*icchā*) and freedom (*svātantrya*) or thought (*vimarśa*) are alluded in the *SpNir* III/13 indicating that the Power of the Ultimate (*svātantrya*, *vimarśa*) becomes will when He desires to display manifestation, which in its turn assumes the powers of cognition (*jñāna*) and action (*kriyā*). The transition to multiplicity from the Supreme State is intermediated by the dyad :

that Power of Absolute Freedom becomes two
in the form of seed (vowel) and matrix (consonant)
which respectively indicate Śiva and *Śakti*.³⁵

Svātantrya turning towards creation is *icchā*, and this archetypal split 'as it were' of the primordial unity is expressed in all subsequent polarities which constitute manifestation.

Vimarśa designates *śakti*, *svātantrya*, as thought, deliberation (*āmarśa*), self-consciousness (*pratyavamarśa*), 'I'. *Vimarśa* is *spanda* :

(in a) cognitive experience... there is consciousness... of association with a stir (*spanda*)... It is because of this stir that the self is admitted to be of a sentient nature... this stir (*spanda*) is technically called '*vimarśa*'. It is the power of action...³⁶

Sphūrana, a term which conveys a sense of luminosity (along with other terms deriving from the same root), is as well assimilated to *spanda* : as when it is said about 'the power of pulsation, which essence consists of quivering light'.³⁷ The *Īśvaraprathyabhijñāvimarśinī* (ĪPv) I/5/14 *Bhāskarī* (Bh) III p. 74 asserts as well the equivalence of *sphūrana* and *spanda*.³⁸

We have noted above the presence of *prāṇa*, the vital breath, constellating the cluster of *hṛd-spanda*.³⁹ The TĀ 6/11-13 states *prāṇa* to be an equivalent of *spanda*. The interrelationship of both realities is detectable in various grounds : both are life and rhythm, both generate time, both are at the root of the efforts towards emancipation. *Prāṇa* as well provides a link between the doctrine of *spanda* and pre-Kāśmiri Śaiva traditions.

In the *Spanda Sandoha*, Ksemaraja gives as names of *Svātantrya* or *icchā-śakti* the following terms : *sphurattā*, *spanda*, *ūrmi*, *bala*, *udyoga*, *hṛdaya*, *sāra*, *mālinī*, *parā*.⁴⁰ *Īcchā-śakti*, thus stands as synonym of *spanda*.

The mentioned and similar lists of names constitute the following comparative chart of names which gives us the possibility of arriving at certain provisional semantical observations :

Table 1 : Order of Frequency of Names in Six Lists

Text	<i>SpNir</i>	<i>ṢṬTS</i>	<i>PTv</i>	<i>SpS</i>	<i>TĀ</i> III/ 60-71	<i>TĀ</i> VI/ 13
Names of	<i>Svātanta- rya-śakti</i>	<i>icchā- śakti</i>	<i>spanda</i>	<i>icchā- śakti</i>	<i>Śiva- śakti- saṁghatta</i>	<i>prāṇa- śakti</i>
<i>hṛdaya</i>	+	+	-	+	+	+
<i>ūrmi</i>	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>sāra</i>	+	+	-	+	+	-
<i>parā</i>	+	-	-	+	+	-
<i>sphurattā</i>	+	-	-	+	-	+
<i>matsyodarī</i>	+	-	+	-	-	-
<i>devī</i>	+	-	-	-	+	-
<i>spanda</i>	-	-	-	+	-	+
<i>mahāsattā</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Bhairavī</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>śikhā</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>vimarśa</i>	-	+	-	-	-	-
<i>ucchalata</i>	-	-	+	-	-	-
<i>bala</i>	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>udyoga</i>	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>mālinī</i>	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>ananda</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>visarga</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>kala-</i>						
<i>saṁkarsinī</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>matr-</i>						
<i>sadbhava</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>viśranti</i>	-	-	-	-	-	+
<i>pratibhā</i>	-	-	-	-	-	+
<i>jīva</i>	-	-	-	-	-	+

Table 2 : Alphabetical Order of Names with Place of Occurrence

Text	SpNir	ṢTTS	PTv	SpS	TĀ III/ 60-71	TĀ VI/ 13
Names of	Svātanta- rya-śakti	icchā- śakti	spanda	icchā- śakti	Śiva- śakti- saṅghatta	prāṇa- śakti
<i>ānanda</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>ucchalata</i>	-	-	+	-	-	-
<i>udyoga</i>	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>ūrmi</i>	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>kala-</i>						
<i>saṁkarsinī</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>jīva</i>	-	-	-	-	-	+
<i>devī</i>	+	-	-	-	+	-
<i>parā</i>	+	-	-	+	+	-
<i>pratibhā</i>	-	-	-	-	-	+
<i>bala</i>	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>Bhairavī</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>matṛ-</i>						
<i>sadbhava</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>matsyodari</i>	+	-	+	-	-	-
<i>mālinī</i>	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>mahāsattā</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>vimarśa</i>	-	+	-	-	-	-
<i>viśranti</i>	-	-	-	-	-	+
<i>visarga</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>sāra</i>	+	+	-	+	+	-
<i>śikha</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>spanda</i>	-	-	-	+	-	+
<i>sphurattā</i>	+	-	-	+	-	+
<i>hṛdaya</i>	+	+	-	+	+	+

Some observations can be drawn from the above shown tables⁴¹:

- 1) it is evident that we are dealing here with a homogeneous semantic field in which the various elements constituting it are closely related by way of direct or indirect relationships;
- 2) a same reality is referred to variously, thence that reality is not thought of univocally;
- 3) concepts-images and personal names of the deities (sometimes hypostases) are both employed, which historically may indicate an assimilative process of disperse cults, beliefs, etc., into the making of a major cult or theological system;
- 4) when the discourse refers to a certain level of reality, terms are employed at variance to their literal sense and to their average technical sense;
- 5) hence the semantic value of these terms is not exhausted by any given definition, and to consider these terms as absolutely semantically determined on the base of one or few occurrences is a hasty generalization going against the very spirit of these systems;
- 6) the governing logic which allows the structuration or phenomenological organization or agglomeration of realities pertaining to differentiated domains and orders on the ground of ressemblances and analogies etc., and the metaphysics which grant ontologically validity to metaphors, symbols and related realities, is the logic and metaphysics of an esoteric symbolism of radical type which realizes unity-in-diversity.

II

(1) Placing *spanda* and KŚ in the Indian Philosophical Religious context

What does the concept of *spanda* stand for in the Indian Philosophical context ?⁴² KŚ, or for that matter all post-Śaṅkara Indian philosophical Schools, attempts in its own way various solutions to solve the unreconciled alternatives left by Śaṅkara's criticism to all Buddhisms (which in its turn is

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<i>ānanda</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>ucchalata</i>	-	-	+	-	+	-
<i>udyoga</i>	-	-	-	+	+	-
<i>ūrmi</i>	+	+	+	+	+	-
<i>kala-</i>						
<i>saṃkarsinī</i>	-	-	-	-	+	+
<i>jīva</i>	-	-	-	-	+	+
<i>devī</i>	+	-	-	-	+	+
<i>parā</i>	+	-	-	+	+	+
<i>pratibhā</i>	-	-	-	-	+	+
<i>bala</i>	-	-	-	+	+	+
<i>Bhairavī</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>matṛ-</i>						
<i>sadbhava</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-
<i>matsyodarī</i>	+	-	+	-	-	-
<i>mālinī</i>	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>mahāsattā</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>vimarśa</i>	-	+	-	-	-	-
<i>viśranti</i>	-	-	-	-	-	+
<i>visarga</i>	-	-	-	-	+	+
<i>sāra</i>	+	+	-	+	+	-
<i>śikha</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>spanda</i>	-	-	-	+	-	+
<i>sphurattā</i>	+	-	-	+	-	+
<i>hrdaya</i>	+	+	-	+	+	+

Some observations can be drawn from the above shown tables⁴¹:

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an answer to the Buddhist criticism of all essentialisms) :
 (1) the critique to a static Absolutism (*Brahmanvāda*, *Nirguṇavāda*) unrelated in any way to phenomena, and
 (2) the critique to a pure phenomenalism (*dharmah*) that rejects any permanence or stasis (*anātmavāda*, *sūnyatāvāda*). Polarization which seems to radicalize the distinctions between the Sāṃkhyan dyad of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, which probably is contained in the mytho-theological conceptions of Śiva and Śakti, god and goddess.

The doctrine of *spanda* or *svātantrya-vāda* would be an effort to reconcile both exclusive terms and concepts in a solution precursored by the equation of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* of the Mādhyamikas, which has also assimilated the Vijñānavāda philosophical attempts. The tāntric methodology of the siddhas, which is often presented as applied mādhyamaka and yogācāra, would have furnished the connecting linkage, let us not forget that Orgyen or Uddiyana, the birth-place of Padma Sambhava, is placed by some scholars in Swat, that is to say in Kāśmīr. The absolutistic everything-is-real ontology of the Kāśmīr Śaivas represents a reply to the everything-is-unreal Vijñānavāda doctrine. However, paradoxically, both reach very similar practical conclusions.

Thus, *spanda* is *śakti*, *svatantrya*, *sphūraṇa*, or whatever stands for dynamism, phenomenalizing, or 'over-flowing' of the Supreme. It is the life or essence of *Anuttara* or *Parama-Śiva* to have the freedom of even becoming as it were non-supreme, relative, without ceasing however being the supreme. In short, the essence or consciousness is simultaneously transcendent and immanent (*viśvottirna-viśvamaya*), static and dynamic. The emanative process by which the cosmos is created in Kāśmīr Śaivism can be fruitfully compared to the ideative process by which the cosmos is projected as thought by the *citta-mātrins*.

The doctrine of *spanda*, therefore, performs the double function of introducing nature in spirit and spirit in nature (Śiva in Śakti and Śakti in Śiva, as *saṃsāra* in *Nirvāṇa* and *Nirvāṇa* in *saṃsāra*) as the highest application of interpenetration (*saṃghaṭṭha*, *sāmarasya*, *samputīkaraṇa*, or concurrently the Buddhist *maḥāsukha*, *yuganadha*, etc.). *Spanda*, cosmogonically speaking, accounts for the transition

between the unmanifested and the manifested. It conveys, thus, the various concepts of the manifested itself, the link between manifested and manifestable, the ontic source of manifestation, and the essence or definitory characteristic (*śakti*) of the unmanifestable.⁴³ It is the exercise of the power of self-determination of the Absolute indeterminate.

In a clear criticism to Śaṅkara's advaitavāda, Kṣemarāja says :

some hold that the Highest Reality is without activity. But in such a case, because of the inactive nature of the Highest Reality, all this (i.e. the universe) will be without a Lord or creative power.⁴⁴

The inclusion of the cosmic reality into the domain of the Ultimate, for which the entire *śakti-svātantrya-spanda-vimarśa* doctrine provides the theoretical ground, is further acknowledged by a theory of mystic realization that has a new understanding of self-realization and of self, and an addition of a new level of mystical or yogic experience which introduces the philosophic recognition of becoming into the sphere of spiritual realization, hitherto understood in static terms. *Ātma-vyāpti* in KŚ terms means the realization of the self endowed with *jñāna* and *kriyā*, i.e. not a merely knowful yet inert, actionless being. A change has taken place with the inclusion of *kriyā* as being also an essential characteristic of the self. Besides, the self of Śaivāgama is not the self of Advaita-vedānta because it is not all-pervasive, it is more alike the *puruṣa* of Sāṃkhya, a separate and individual being. This *ātma-vyāpti* is transcended by another realization named *Śiva-vyāpti*⁴⁵ or realization of the status of Śiva, that is to say as being endowed with *aiśvaratva*, lordship, or *pūrṇa-svātantrya*, absolute independence for realizing his will. That means the passage from *aham* to *purnāhaṇṭa*. The inclusion of the universe into the sphere of full or transcendental subjectivity is expressed in mytho-theological terms with the establishing of the Lordship over the universe as definitory of Śiva-status.

(2) Śaiva Tāntricism and Vajrayāna Buddhism : some comparisons & inter-relationships

Although Kāśmīrī Śaiva philosophers as Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja took pains in outlining the philosophical distance which separates them from Buddhism while shaping the philosophical identity of Kāśmīr Śaivism—attacking Buddhist doctrines as the negation of self (*ātma*), of god (*īśvara*),⁴⁶ *śūnyavāda*, etc.—there are nevertheless enough points of similarities and encounter in the practical side which run from the sharing of some master figures of their transmission lineages, some of the siddhas, to technical terms employed in quite similar sense as for instance in the case of the terms *khecārī*, *ākāśa*, *śūnya*, *mahāmudrā*, *sāmarasya*, etc. In short, the philosophical distance and differences vis-à-vis Mahāyāna Buddhism—and we have noted that even here there are enough grounds of approximation—gives place to the larger converging practices and realizations with Vajrayāna Buddhism. Śaiva Tantra and Bauddha Tantra seem to articulate themselves as two branches of the Tāntric (often Tāntric Himalayic) tree in spite of the quite distinct philosophical basis of their own respective traditions. Tantras thus look often quite enough differentiated from their own philosophico-religious basis, those of the early traditions to which they were incorporated, as for some scholars to conclude that they represent a somehow forced superimposition on those pre-existent philosophico-religious traditions (Vedāntic, Buddhist, Jaina). The fact that, on the other hand, the various tāntric traditions reveal a high degree of internal coherence and agreement among them is also an argument to be had in consideration. Whether we consider Tantra to represent a superimposition proceeding almost ready-made from some unknown source or sources, and being added as a super-structure on pre-existent philosophico-religious traditions often quite inimical to the tāntric spirit, or we consider Tantra to represent the product of an evolution proceeding from an inner unfoldment of these traditions (even if unlikelily happening almost contemporaneously from a plurality of matrixes), the fact remains that the 'tāntric element' is differentiated in them all, and identifiable.

From a commonality of doctrines and practices⁴⁷ as those referring to the subtle body of wheels, channels, and winds, to the presence of such dominant elements and realizations as those designated as emptiness, light, bliss, totality or reintegration, those indicated by the names of gods and goddesses, etc., runs a thread which brings them together. There are synchronic and diachronic common platforms specially in what respect to the interior ways and realizations more than in the case of philosophical tenets where differences are more accused, sharper. And this is so because philosophical analysis and argumentation not only belong to reason and reasoning,—the domain of analysis, differentiation, and exclusions, but they usually are an extension, an intellectual formulation, of the empiric socio-politico-economical reality (the *vyavahāric*), in short of the exoteric domain; while the esoteric or interior is the domain of the psycho-spiritual and existential, which proceeds not only from man's social identity, but from man's personal (or man's proper) psycho-physiological, psycho-cosmical, and psycho-spiritual realities. This is a basic dicotomy. Thus, if Tantra in one hand is to be elucidated in the light of polarization between little-tradition and great-tradition, in the other is as well to be considered in the light of the exoteric (social oriented, socially reinforcing) and the esoteric (individually or personally transformative) polarity.

In sum, Kāśmīr Śaivism (and other Śaiva-Śakta Tāntric traditions) and Vajrayāna Buddhism (which in itself is another complex formation) quite often form part of a larger common temporal or historical, spatial or geographical, cultural, etc., continuum as evidenced by a commonality of masters, utilization of common textual sources, common pilgrimages centers or places of power (*pīṭhas*, *śmaśānas*, etc.), which evidences their deriving from a same or quite similar cultural-religious substratum, having in addition a same or similar ultimate realization aim⁴⁸. Tāntric traditions, thus, effectively look as having been instrumentalized by the diverse cultural traditions, process in which, in their turn, were generated fresh philosophical and practical efforts to integrate their disperse and often conflicting components—we mean the tāntric cultic-practical basis and the world-view inhering in (and that attached to) them, with the refined philosophico-

analytical and ethical background. An entire scholastic tradition of exegetes and commentators sprung coordinating both streams, often blending them into an harmonious whole. To this was added the integrative effort to assimilate Buddhism Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna into a different ethno-cultural background, largely of Mongolian stock. This last feature being an expression of the fact that Buddhism all through its history has endeavored to bring together elements of its largely grown tradition. These elements are in their turn product of Buddhism's distinctive feature of assimilating disperse elements in its expansionary process—sort of missionary concessions—which naturally resulted in consequent creations of internal tensions and contradictions. These by-products of their efforts to local adaptations, gave in course of time place to the natural development of the attempts of coming together in practical and as well theoretical terms. Tibetan Buddhism represents an example of this quite to the point.

As can be noted, we differentiate an integrative substratum from an integrative horizon, understanding this last as a commonality of goals and realizations—the psycho-spiritual matrix—to which these systems tend towards, to which is to be added an intermediate system of integrative structures, which are the unifying platforms of shared world-view, cosmology, sciences, and techniks and methodologies. The base, the path, and the goal represent thus three articulative axes which allow an integration or fruitful integrative exchange and comparison between the broader tantric distinctions or identities.

Kāśmīr Śaivism differentiates itself philosophically through a doctrinal criticism of the brahmavādins (vedāntins, specially śāṅkara vedāntins), of the śabda-brahma-vādins, of the Vaiṣṇavas and dualist Śaivas, of the Bauddhas, and in specific points of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas and Sāṃkhya⁴⁹; To trace real and not apparent, stated or un-stated similarities and differences would only be performed with justice when the entire picture of the history of Indian cultures emerge. Before that stage all reconstructions and interpretations, although not necessarily wrong, are necessarily provisional subject to verification when the rest of the data comes to light. Science proceeds through the process of perfecting hypotheses and interpretations.

Thus, the following problems are posed (which are historical and philosophico-religious problems :

- (1) origin and nature of Tantra in general;
- (2) relationship of Tantra with the philosophical traditions it rests on : Buddhism, Jainism, Vaidik, Tāntric Śaivism and non-Tāntric Śaivism;
- (3) relationship of Tantras with predating Indian religious traditions : Vedas and Vedāntas, Purāṇas, etc.;
- (4) inter-tantric relationships;
- (5) relationships of Buddhism with Śaivism (non-tāntric), and both with Vedas and Purāṇas;
- (6) Himalayic, etc., elements in K.Ś. and Tāntric Buddhism;
- (7) Tibetan, etc., elements in Tibetan, etc., Tāntric Buddhisms.

III

(1) The Psychological Vocabulary of *icchā* (will)

The interconnections among *hṛdaya*, *spanda*, and *icchā* are a subject that can be fruitfully further explored. These interconnections have psycho-physiological and psycho-cosmological (and -cosmogonical) significances. Psycho-physiologically they are present as the conative root of action and cognition, cosmologically they are at the origin and beginning of the manifestation, projection, or emanation, ontologically at the core of being.

The close relationship between *spanda* and *hṛdaya*, on one hand, and *spanda* and *icchā* on the other, have been referred to in the previous pages. The relationship between *hṛdaya* and *icchā* and alike psychological states can be expressed in short saying that *icchā*, etc., spring from the heart, that have *hṛdaya* as their locus, as shall be elaborated below. In this respect as well the Kasmir Saiva teaching corresponds to similar Āyur Vedic teachings.

The *Spanda* School also designates this *icchā*—which is identical to the fire of consciousness which is the heart—as *aunmukhya*, orientation of consciousness, as *udyoga*, the impulse directed towards the exterior at the origin of the cosmic manifestation, as *udyana* and *udyantṛtā*, which

designate the purely interior impulse at the moment of return to the undifferentiated, as *prathama-tuṭi*, the interior impulse proper to the first moment of desire which contains virtually whatever will be developed afterwards⁵⁰, or as *camatkāra*, wonder, the source of the aesthetic experience,⁵¹ among other terms.⁵²

The analogy between the micro and the macro-cosmic is the ground which allows the transition from the individual's *icchā* (the psycho-physiological domain) to Bhairava's *icchā* (the psycho-cosmical domain). The fact that one domain mirrors the other, as it is believed, permits an interplay of nuances of senses which weaves the distinct symbolism of these Schools. This analogical principle is what underlies these uses of the discourse, and which grasping turns them intelligible. It is, otherwise, a common epistemological principle of a number of similar schools and traditions world-wide, which thus participate, in the essential, of a same way of being and seeing at reality, which can be denominated the mytho-symbolical, besides minor differences.

The term 'first moment' (*prathama tuṭi*) refers to the consciousness when it begins to tend towards multiplicity. It encloses the creative, generative mystery. It is the initial moment of the will (*ŚDr* 1/7b-8). The cause of this tension or intention (in-tension) is a vibration (*jṛmbhā*, *ghūrṇana*) of amazement in the intellect (*āmōda*, *camatkāra*). The terms *samrambha*, *aunmukhya*, *udyantrīṭā*, *samudyama* mean that drive, urge or inner conation, wish or will, that contains within itself the image of the things to be. Reality from this point of view is vibration (*ghūrṇana*), movement (*spanda*), continuous ebullition (*ucchalatā*). Action, movement, conation (*samrambha*) are 'thought' (*vimarśa*).⁵³ The psychological analysis of *icchā* and related mental, affective, and emotional states along with their impulsive or instinctive basis, has a correlate with the psycho-physiological analysis of the erotic impulse, activity, and consummation which discloses its presence at the root of existence (*raga-tattva*, *mahā-raga*, *mahāsukha*, *visarga*, etc.). The Kāśmir Śaiva analysis of psychological states could meaningfully be put in relationship with those other analysis of mental phenomena as carried out by Buddhists, Bhakti-margins, Aestheticians, and Āyur-Vedics.⁵⁴

Prathama-tuṭi, rather than a temporal starting is an

atemporal beginning concurring with the apparition of time. In such a sense it is always present as the disruption, agitation, which presides the apparition of any phenomena from non-manifestation. Ontogeny is re-enacted unceasingly and this ensures the continuity of creation. *Prathama-tuṭi* in this sense refers not to a cosmic past but to the burning present of continuous origination, to an ever present beginning. It reminds us of the Buddhist *kṣana-vāda*, which as well is present in the Kāśmīr Śaiva doctrines. *Prathama-tuṭi*, thus, is always found in the concreteness of the starting of any process. *Spanda* is also understood as a continuous interior agitation (*antaraspanda*).⁵⁵

Icchā is the exercise of the freedom (*svātantra*) of the agent (*kartṛ*). This freedom is exercised by the I (*ahaṁ*) as an eternal recurrence to the power of action (*kriyā-śakti*). It is found in the experience of action as an interior initiative (*saṁrambha*, *udyoga*, *āntaraspanda*). Analyzing the ordinary action of the will at the time of becoming in movement, in its first departure, it is discovered that it manifests as the union of action and agent. It is in the very moment in which the act gets under way that is experienced the I. Another term, *prathama-koṭi*, designates the initial point of activity. The experience of knowing is associated to an interior agitation (*antaḥsaṁrambha*) because the self is conscious in nature and not inert (not-acting) as a clay-pot is. This becoming conscious, the awareness, is designated as *vimarśa*.⁵⁶

Spanda is *satatodita*, i.e., perpetually risen or in movement. It is always new and always the same. It is the point of departure and also the point of arrival (*pūrvāparakoṭi*), thus at the beginning and at the end of its illusory separate manifestation everything clearly manifests its being one with *spanda*.⁵⁷

Udyama is a term that evidences this coincidence of the first and final moments. It is found as an equivalent to the tension that precedes manifestation, and it is precisely that same tension which carries the practitioner to realization in *śambhavopaya*, which is also named *icchopaya*.⁵⁸ *Udyama*, composed from the root *yam*—to tend forward, to begin, + *ud*—, implying elevation, verticality, designates the act of darting forth, enterprise, ardour.⁵⁹ It comports certain desire

in contrast to *udyantrīta*, in which it culminates. Interestingly, *udyama*, present at the origin of the emanation, is found also in the way of reabsorption as the urge towards *vyāpti*.⁶⁰ The way of Śiva is said to be entirely contained in the movement of the will. The pure act of will's movement when apprehended in its instantaneity reveals itself being the dash of the heart (*udyama*), which at the beginning of the emanation manifests the universe as spouting energy. Being the point of departure towards differentiation it is as well the point of arrival, because it is always the same impulse of the I which sets in movement the process of differentiation⁶¹ and which, when willing it, reabsorbs it back into itself. In fact, only the impulse of the I really exists : between the first and the last term nothing has really happened, only that archetypal act of the will that takes place in the intimacy of the heart, and the becoming conscious of this originary pulsation which corresponds to the cosmic awakening and to the highest illumination.⁶²

The seat of *udyama* is the heart. The MM 13 says that Śiva, the supremely independent (*śivo nāma paramasva-cchandaḥ*) which has for his essence the impulse of his own heart (*nijahrdāyodamarūpo bhavati*), consists in the fusion into one energy (*ekasaṃghatta*) of thousands of energies perceived in all possible ways (*tathā tathā drśyamānānām śaktisahasrānām*).

The ŚŚ 1/5 defines *udyama* as Bhairava (*udyamo bhairavaḥ*). *Udyama* in this context means *unmajjanarupaḥ*,⁶³ sudden emergence of divine consciousness. Ksemaraja adds in his Vimarsini that "*udyama* is an emergence of an awareness in the form of the highest *pratibhā*, which is a sudden springing up of that I-consciousness of Śiva which expands in the form of the entire universe" (*yo'yam prasaradrūpayā vimarsamayyāḥ saṃvidojñagiti ucchalanātmakaparapratibhonmi janarūpa udyamaḥ*).⁶⁴ "*Udyama* may itself be called Bhairava inasmuch as it is the means for revealing Bhairava who is one's own essential self" (*bhairavātmakasvasvarūpa-bhivvyakti hetutvāt*). "It appears in those who are devoted to Him because of their whole attention being concentrated on that inner Bhairava principle" (*bhaktibhājām antarmukhai-tattatvāvadhānadhanānām jāyate*).⁶⁵

(2) *Īcchā* and related realities in Śaiva Yoga

In the process of divine disclosure, in which the soul is reabsorbed into the divine, while taking hold of the creative impulse again, the ever-springing basic energy-ground is recognized in all manifestations where vitality is expressed in such a way that it brings unification of all the differentiating, dispersing forces. This is a typical tantric attitude and practice, and a risky one.⁶⁶

Thus, the *ŚDṛ* 9-11a teaches the possibility of the recognition of the presence of *spanda* in our life, amidst our daily occurrences. This, it should be stressed, is a characteristic fact of the Kaśmir Śaiva, or for that matter of all advaitic or *advayic* tantric *sādhana*. The goal, the ultimate, is taught to be already present in and around us. In this tradition transcendence permeates immanence. Hence, in a truly advaitic spirit, there is nothing to achieve, spiritual realization is a matter of self-re-cognition, of reassuming oneself and what is of oneself, i.e., the powers and accomplishments which accompany self-re-cognition.

The *unmukhata*, tension, intentness, that is the *prathamatuṭi* of the will, is perceptible in the locus of the heart when one remembers suddenly a thing that must be done, in the moment in which one receives good news, when one experiences fear unexpectedly, when one sees again unexpectedly a thing which one has not seen for a long time, when one feels the flow of the orgasmic emission, when one reads quickly, when one runs. In each of these occasions there is a mingling of all the powers (*vilolatā*, *lolībhāva*, *miśrībhāva*, notes R. Gnoli).⁶⁷ This *vilolatā* is akin to the vortex, *jṛmbha*, that expands, or to the disturbance, *kṣobha*, that precedes manifestation. These vital or psychological effervescences lead to the emission (*visarga*) of the universe. In that *prathamatuṭi* is present the intention that precedes action, as the tremor that can be noticed when an open hand starts to clench into a fist, the slight movement of the open fingers.⁶⁸

The *sādhana* of *KŚ* differentiates from other yogic *sādhana*s in the bold and daring manipulation of all those states that were considered obstacles or distractions in other spiritual ways. In the search for the limit-states are incorporated

experiences vanished in other ways and often shun by conventionality. The *spanda* principle, says the *SpK* 1/22, is firmly established in that state to which a person is reduced when he is greatly exasperated or overjoyed, or is in an impasse reflecting what to do, etc.⁶⁹ *Kṣemarāja* in the *Nirṇaya* comments that in these states of vehement anger, etc., all the other activities of the mind cease by themselves, without any effort on the part of the yogins, and if the ever alert yogin becomes introverted at that psychological moment, they attain their desired object instantaneously.⁷⁰ In this way in all other similar conditions such as great fear generated by the sight of a lion or python, when we are reduced to any such a state in which our mental activities stop, *spanda* is established, that is the *spanda* principle is turning towards us.⁷¹ The halting of habitual mental activities : thought, emotional reactions, impulses, etc., discloses the light of true awakening. Ramakanta in his *Vivṛti* on the same *kārikā* makes the position further clear indicating that these emotional states serve, to the awakened one, as a means for realizing the abiding *spanda* if they throw him into a reflective recollection of his essential I-consciousness, not if they involve him in their own experience. The common experience of these states is only of pleasure or pain.⁷²

In a similar spirit the *VBh* 101 teaches :

if one succeeds in immobilizing his mind (in making it one pointed) when he is under the sway of desire, anger, infatuation, arrogance and envy (*kāmakrodhalobhamohamadamāt-saryagocare*), then the Reality underlying these states alone subsists.⁷³

This means is also known as *śakti-sankoca*, because here it is used the high pitch of these emotions as an occasion for becoming introverted. Having universalized the emotion it becomes, or it reveals, the underlying Reality, i.e., *Spanda*. In the same way that the concentration on *vikalpa* intensifies the *vikalpa* until it pervades the entire consciousness, emotions or violent passions, they also, gather spontaneously the entire being on a single point (*ekagrata*) and abolish the multiplicity of impressions. However, the unifying intensity of the energies

should be accompanied by a well appeaced intellet (*citta-viśrānti*). Thus, even a strong passion may lead an alert practitioner to spiritual bliss.⁷⁴

The *VBh* 118 illustrates on similar lines :

at the commencement and end of sneeze, in terror, in sorrow, in the condition of a deep sight or on the occasion of flight from the attack of an elephant, during keen curiosity, at the commencement or end of hunger, the state of Brahman approaches near.⁷⁵

All these instances have a common feature : they uproot us, even if momentarily, from our conventional complacency and numbness. They throw us back to the consciousness-energy ground through a suspension of conventionalities. Whether it is an insignificant condition like sneeze, or highly significant ones as terror, keen curiosity or flight from the battle field, whenever the ordinary consciousness receives a sudden jolt or shock, there is an stoppage of the internal discourse stream, the silencing of thought; one is thus thrown back to one's inmost depth and comes in contact with *spanda*, the pulsation of the deepest consciousness, the source of one's being.⁷⁶ At the commencement of these movements they assume their undifferentiated aspect (*yatetasu vrttisu-udayasamayānirvikalpaikarupasu*, *PTv* p. 44). Anger, etc., are identified with *citta-camatkāra* (*krodhadvrttayo hi ciccamatkāratadatmyat*, *PTv* p. 42).

Therefore, whichever may be the dominant impulse or experience that brings all other experiences to a halt, merging them into a rushing stream or moment, it mirrors the primal apparition or emergence of the will-to-be. A cool, still awareness together with a paroxism of energies permits the passage to a recognition of the consciousness-energy ground which underlies the whole. Or it is brought by the halt of all energies; or by a gradual process of re-absorption of the objective into the subjective until the abolishing of such categorizings. In short, a process that first establishes the 'self in itself, and then universalizes it until inclusion of the totality. If called subjectivization it is a transcendental subjectivization which includes the entire objectivity into

it, not merely discarding it as in the previous Indian spiritual solutions: Patañjala Yoga, Theravāda Buddhism, Advaita Vedānta, etc.

In such a *spandic*-quest we confront this search for the occasions, moments, events, experiences, where the empirical world, its mental, intellectual reflection or construction in us, crashes down, and through such a de-construction, it is possible to realize the passage to a wider, freer, higher condition. It could also be described as a conscious return, re-mergence into basality, into more and more universal and basic states. The paradox is that this does not imply the loss but the recovering of one's deeper and truer individuality. In this sense it is not a merging into the unconsciousness, as some have interpreted it,—unless that we understand unconsciousness in the sense that what is night and darkness for the world is day and light to the adept. It would rather be a merging which is an expansion into more intense and comprehending forms of consciousness, until incorporating the total cosmos, or until, it is thought, the spread in the entire cosmos of one's consciousness, accomplishment which is facilitated on one hand by the conception that the cosmos is a projection of the cosmic mind, or Śiva, with which we have a relation of essential identity, and in the other by the conception of the all-pervasive nature of consciousness : the cosmic mind projects the cosmic manifestation at the internal of itself and the stuff or substance from which is fashioned is the same mental stuff. In this point there is considerable aggrement or ressemblance among the Kaśmir Śaivas of advaitic type, the Vedāntins of the Kaśmiri text Yoga-Vasistha or of the Tripura-Rahasya types, and the Bauddha Citta-Mātrins.⁷⁷

IV

(1) Spanda and dyads and polarities

Spanda has two poles, two moments : *unmeṣa* and *nimeṣa*, or *saṅkoca* and *vikāśa*, which are considered to be at a higher level simultaneous and not successive. *SpNir*

1/1 expresses clearly the relation of these different couples of polarities with *spanda* :

this *spanda-śakti* consists of the compact bliss of I-consciousness which holds in its bosom endless cycles of creation and dissolution (*sa ca iṣa spandaśaktirgarbhīkṛtānantasargasaṃharaikaghanāhanta camatkārānanda rūpā*), which is of the nature of the entire world of the pure and the impure (*niḥśesaśuddhāśuddharupā*), which is of the nature of exhibiting limitation and expansion of subjects and objects (*māṭrimeyasamkocavikāsābhanasatattva*), which is worthy of adoration of all esoteric knowledge (*sarvopaniṣadupāśya*), which is simultaneously of the nature of emanation and absorption (*yugapadevonmeṣanimeṣamayī*).⁷⁸

The fact of this dual aspect is emphasized again : hence the same Power which is of double aspect is sometimes employed predominantly in the aspect of *unmeṣa* (appearance) and sometimes predominantly in the aspect of *nimeṣa* (disappearance);⁷⁹ or, the goddess consciousness, it is affirmed, is simultaneously of the nature of *unmeṣa* (unfoldment) and *nimeṣa* (foldment).⁸⁰

The grossification of *adi-spanda* expresses at all levels of the manifestation this modal-dyad. Polarities, therefore, express the double movement of the archetypal pulsation. The first split of Reality, the first fission or fissure, assumes the form of Śiva and Śakti, which are the model of subsequent *dvandvas*. The origin of manifestation is the break, as it were, of reality into two :

that power of Absoluter Freedom becomes two in the form of seed (vowel) and matrix (consonant) which indicate Śiva and Śakti (*śivaśakti-parāmarśātmaka bījayonibhedena dvīdha bhutvā*)—*SpNir* 3/13.⁸¹

"But in reality nothing subsides. It is only the divine *Spanda Śakti* which, though free of succession, appears in

different aspects as if flashing in view and as if subsiding".⁸²

The apprehension of *spanda* already indicates the recognition, from the side of the perceiver, of the distinction of two elements in the bosom of the Ultimate. Even if being the sole and ultimate reality, the Supreme Lord is said to have two aspects. He is the immanent reality (*viśvātmaka*) and at the same time He transcends all and is beyond all in which aspect (*viśvottirna*) He has been called *Anuttara*, the Absolute. The stir of consciousness is said to be a sort of constant inward and outward vibration-like restlessness of the Absolute Self. Because of this *spanda* the Absolute Siva is always feeling his transcendental as well as his universal aspects. His transcendental aspect is felt by Him through his inward oriented stir of that *spanda*, and his universal aspect is felt by Him by his outward oriented stir.⁸³ At the interior of *Paramasiva* (*Kula*, according to the Kula School), it is distinguished a couple (*yamala*) formed by *akula* and *kaulikīśakti*, that is to say *Siva-prakāśa*, conscious light in its unity, and the energy of this light, *Śakti-vimarsā*, flashing power endowed with expansion. It is from the interplay of distinctiveness of this couple that manifestation takes place.

Coming to the sphere of the knowing subject it is said that the condition of the knowing subject has as essence the subtle vibration (*svapariśpandanāsāra*) of the Self, because its proper nature is characterized by knowledge and activity which are contraction and expansion (*sāṃkoca-vikāśa*), that is to say cosmic awakening and retreat.⁸⁴

Of this *spanda* principle two states are spoken about, viz., of the doer or the subject, and of the deed or the object. Of these two, the deed or the object is subject to decay but the doer or the subject does not perish.⁸⁵

Unmeṣa and *nimeṣa* hold a double value, they refer either to the universe or to consciousness. From the cosmic point of view *nimeṣa* is the stage of absorption of the manifested aggregate of categories, and the same principle is in the stage of appearance or expansion (*unmeṣa*) in what refers to those categories that are about to come into being (*SpNir* 1/1). Also, it is said that as the stage of submergence (*nimeṣa*) of the universe constitutes the emergence of the compactness of consciousness, so also the stage of submergence of the compactness of consciousness constitutes the stage of

emergence of the universe (*ibid.*). More clearly, the interpretation of the text should point out the fact that submergence (from one point of view is also emergence (from another point of view, and concurrently emergence (from one point of view) is also submergence (from another point of view) [*ibid.*].

The six *adhvan* are ordered also following this dual pattern : there are six ways, one half has for essence the word (*śabda*), thought (*vimarsā*), the other half has as characteristic the meaning (*artha*), conscious light (*prakāśa*). Thus, Śiva displays Himself under the form of couple (*yāmala*=Śiva+*Śakti*).⁸⁶ The *TĀ* 11/50 calls the *adhvans śaktiparispanda*. These ways show the double dynamism of the energy emanating and returning to its source, and because the uninterrupted gradation of the energies going from the material world to the pure energies, they allow the absorption of one level into another until its final source. Pertaining to *vimarsā* or *śakti* are *varṇa*, *mantra*, and *pada*; and to *prakāśa* or Śiva are *kalā*, *tattva*, and *bhuvana*. In this manner, the text says, takes place the display of Śiva in the form of couple (*yāmala*). This couple constitutes the two frictioning woods (*visargārani*) wherefrom springs the fire that illumines or destroys the cosmos. The way of emanation comes to be also the way of deliverance when the orientation of the energies change. Thus, in the deliverance process the grosser energies are re-absorbed into the subtler. When the dynamism tends towards liberation its polarities give way to the *karma-ābhyasa*, *karma-mudrā*, *Bhairavī-mudrā*, etc.

(2) Doctrine of rhythmic polarization in Vedic interpretation

Hṛdaya-spanda, as any pulsation, is composed by two moments. It is in fact a sequence, a rhythmic sequence. These two moments express a binaric polarization. The senses of life, rhythmic alternation,— qualitative polar differentiations of time measurement, articulated however in a single substratum—, are enclosed in the beat of the heart. In Ayurveda, the circulatory and the respiratory systems are taken together, thus the functioning of the heart and the lungs being described as being very closely interrelated. The primal experience of alternate opposite modalities of functioning

of a single organ which are complementary, is given by this experience of pulse and breath. Interestingly enough, prenatal, embryonic life, has no experience of lungs activity. The first experience of rhythmic alternation of the living human organism, thus, proceeds from the heart, or the circulatory system, which in the uterine life is integrated with the circulatory system of the mother. Activity of lungs (breathing), and autonomous activity of heart (circulation of blood in a close-circuit system) start with post-natal life.

Appreciation of the rhythmic polarities also finds exposition in modern Vedic interpretations⁸⁷ which however have their roots in ancient traditions of Vedic symbology, as expressed in the following account of the Vedic doctrine of life-rhythm. *Unmeṣa* and *nimeṣa* are referred to in this doctrine when saying that the *prāṇic* self or *surya* is twofold, viz. *prājñā* and *taijasa*, that manifests itself as in-breath and out-breath (*uchchhvāsa-niḥśvāsa*) in the two nostrils, and as opening and closing of the eye-lids (*unmeṣa* and *nimeṣa*). *Surya* in the macrocosm and *prāṇa* in the microcosm are identical in principle. The movement of *prāṇa* is expressed in hundred-fold processes of the body like breathing, circulation, systole and diastole of the heart, opening and closing of the eyes, assimilation and elimination, sensory and motor perceptions, etc., the psychical being or *prājñā*, it is affirmed, is also in the grip of activity, a ceaseless rhythmic movement spoken of as *saṃkalpa* and *vikalpa*. The doctrine of *prāṇāpana*, in the same literature, explains the fundamental nature of *rajas* as manifested in the twin forces of *prāṇa* and *apana*, i.e. expansion and contraction (*prasāraṇakuñchana*), known by several other pair-names as *agni-rajas* and *soma-rajas*, *udgrabha* and *nirgrabha* (ascent and descent of a single revolving wheel), or manifestation and dissolution (*udaya* and *pralaya*), or tenuousness (*sūksmatā*) and density (*sāudratā*) or growth and decay (*vrddhi* and *hrāsa*), or rising and setting of the sun, where appearance is *udgrābha* and disappearance is *nirgrābha*.

The cosmic rhythm of life or *rajas* and *agni* is manifesting as in-breath and out-breath every moment, like the rays being emitted from a sparkling centre; the walking and the sleeping states, the liquid and solid forms, the expanding and withdrawing forces, creation and dissolution (*prasarga* and

nirodha), revealing and concealing (*āviḥ-tiraḥ*), energy at rest (*supta balam*) and in motion (*utthita balam*), these are all manifestations of the basal duality of creation which are termed as the two kinds of *rajas*, *śukla* and *kṛṣṇa*, which in biological terms are known as the twin of *prāṇana* and *apāṇana*.⁸⁸

V

(1) The drama of the soul : the arc of descent and the arc of ascent

What is the paper of *spanda* in the binding and, conversely, releasing, mechanisms of the cosmos ? We have seen that cosmic *unmeṣa* entails divine concealment or *nimeṣa*, and that in the cosmos itself are present two streams, one called the arc of ascent (*aroḥa-krama*) and the other the arc of descent (*avaroha-krama*), leading respectively from matter to Śiva or all-inclusive consciousness, and from Śiva to sentiency or matter. Significantly, *aroḥa* and *avaroha* indicate in music the ascending and descending musical scales; the concept of spiritual involution and evolution in Saivism can be fruitfully set in relation as well with the *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* movements of consciousness of other hindu schools.

Thus, the expansion of the manifestation concurs with the apparent obscuration of Śivahood. The wholeness becomes fragmented, scattered in a dispersive, expanding display. That very dynamism which displays the potentiality of becoming as the freedom of beingness, enmeshes beingness into becomingness in a process of finitization. The Lord becomes, as it were, the slave of His own powers. Evidently, the mechanism of enslavement and liberation is akin to, for instance, the ones of *sāṃkhya*-yoga or *vedānta*, with the difference that here the charming dancer that enslaves her Lord with her beauty is not altogether a separate reality (as the *prakṛit* of *sāṃkhya*), nor a mere figment of imagination, an illusion (the *vedantic māyā*). In this case the dancer (*śakti*) exists as a projection co-substantial with the Lord, the externalization of a part of his nature for the sake of play. This power of creating, projecting, manifesting, is the very lordship of the Lord. The exercise of the power of creating is the creation,

which at the end of the process of disclosure is reabsorbed into Him, in a status that is neither total identity with nor separation from Him. In philosophical terms, the cosmic drama of the soul implies as well the rescue and not rejection of the phenomenal.

The total scission of the primal plenitude is achieved with the overcoming of the *idam*, the objectivity, over the *aham*, the subjectivity. Thus concludes the arc of descent with the creator prisoner of His own creations and powers of creation. Nevertheless the Lord remains being always the Lord, and this is precisely what makes Him to be such : His freedom reaches until the capability of negating Himself, as an exercise of His own freedom. The power of thus concealing His brightness is called the *nigraha-śakti* of the Lord.

The same energies (*bhagavatīs*) which perform different kinds of *kridhas* (plays, actions) are like the rays of the sun of Śiva (PTv, p. 42). If they are not known as goddesses they delude to the *pasu*, leading him lower and lower. Being deprived of his glory by the limiting and obscuring energies (the *kalā*) the individual becomes a victim of the group of powers arising from the multitude of words (*śabda-rāśī*), and thus he is known as the bound one (*paśu*).⁸⁹

Hence, finitization and speech are definitely related in this conception (and along with speech it should be considered as well sound). Conversely, all-pervasiveness, independence, related to silence.

This point is forcefully expressed in the *SpNir* :

How is that the Experient who is the Great Lord is reduced to this state ? Because he is deprived of his glory by the *kalā*.⁹⁰

Freedom, all-pervasiveness, silence, relate to rest (*viśrānti*) : "because the individual does not rest in his real nature even for a moment, being exploited by the group of externalizing powers, he is called a bound soul."⁹¹

Speech, conventional sounds, are the tactics employed to spell, bewitch the soul through false suggestions, un-verities, delusions. Tacitly then is often praised the liberating power of silence, 'dementation' (*unmanā*) over the compulsions

inculcated by sound-speech, the verbalization or utterances of the finitizing, blinding mental constructs (*vikalpa*). Kṣemarāja says :

He is deprived of his glory by the goddesses *Brahmī* and others presiding over the groups of letters. As such, he is tormented by gross and subtle words which within and without him whisper and suggest all kinds of definite ideas. He feels 'I am this or that', and he is thus lead to joy or sorrow. Thus he, being exploited by the group of *śaktis*, is called *paśu* or bound soul.⁹²

Kṣemarāja gives different interpretations of what *kalā* means in this context, thus he affirms in an elaboration on the phrase *kalāviluptavibhavaḥ*, that etimologically *kalā*, deriving from the root '*kalā*' means one that throws out, in the sense that it emits or projects, and hence connotes that it circumscribes to define limits, that it measures, i.e. the power of *māyā*: "The Lord, thus, comes to a state in which His glory is veiled by His own *māyā*."⁹³

Kāśmir Śaivism is not alone in emphasizing the value of silence over speech-sound as a spiritual therapy. In fact most if not all mystic and spiritual traditions do so. Speech-sound represents the expression, verbalization, or externalization of discriminative—conventionally discriminative, is understood—thought. And it is the silencing of thought or of the internal dialogue what is searched for, because verbalization represents the scattering of the mind over the infinitely multiplying finitizations, the being caught in the web of surface occurrences and changes, the being trap mentally and psychologically by irrelevances and intranscendencies. Buddhism as well strongly emphasizes the value of inner and outer silences to release us from the imperialism of thought-constructs : silence means as well not reacting, not projecting, or not predicating or qualifying about reality, to allow it to evidence clearly itself.

However, this therapy of speech-thought courses through a purification of speech-thought to reach the silence of plenitude. Hence the stressing on the artistic, mystic, ritual,

metaphysical, and symbolical capabilities of speech, which indicate speech oriented towards enlightenment and interiority, the opposite to externalizing, destructive speech.

Kṣemarāja further elaborates : "the rise, in the bound soul, of all sort of ideas makes the disappearance of the bliss of supreme immortality. On account of this, he loses his independence. The appearance of ideas has its sphere in sense-objects".⁹⁴

The rise in that bound soul of ideas (*vikalpa*) leads to the ruin of that soul, to the disappearance or subsidence of the bliss. Though the state of supreme consciousness is present even when the ideas conveying the sense of different objects arise, yet because it is not noticed it seems to be absent. Hence it has been said that the bliss of supreme immortality disappears. By the rise of those ideas (*vikalpa*) the bound soul loses its independence. As has been said in the *Śivasūtra* 'limited knowledge is the cause of bondage' (*ŚS* 1/2).⁹⁵

Speech binds, silence releases

"*Brahmi* and the other powers are ever in readiness to conceal the soul's real nature, for without the association of words, ideas cannot arise." ⁹⁶

Thus we read in the *SpNir* that : "the powers are ever in readiness to conceal the real nature of this bound soul, that nature which is identical with Śiva. They are instrumental in not allowing him to discern that nature properly. It is these powers presiding over words that conceal his real nature, because the ideas that arise in him, that lead to the diffusion of knowledge, are not possible without the association of words. These ideas may be either tinged with subtle internal words or may be expressed in gross speech."⁹⁷ The *SpNir* also says that "...the empirical individual becomes bound and forgets his essential nature. The individual becomes a tool of ideas"—or imaginations, phantasies. "The ideas are entirely governed by words"—which would imply forms, as *nāma* and *rūpa* go together, however, significantly, here the emphasis is set on words. "Though-constructs and verbalizing

become the governing influence of his life. Ideas and words toss him about and do not allow him to introspect within. Ideas and words are all conditioned. The essential Self is unconditioned. The un-conditioned cannot be known by the conditioned. It is only when the individual frees himself from the shackle of ideas and words that he is free to have an immediate, direct awareness of Self."⁹⁸

More technically, it is designated as *kriyā-śakti* of Śiva the determining power that binds and releases :

that above mentioned operative power (*kriyātmikā śaktiḥ*) of Śiva existing in the bound soul is a source of bondage; the same when realized as residing in him as the way of approach to one's own essential reality brings about success (i.e. the achievement of liberation).⁹⁹

Keṣmarāja further elaborates on the double capability of *kriyā-śakti*, to bind and to release and its relationship to *spanda* : "the operative power which is one's real nature is the venerable *spanda* principle. She is known as operative power (*kriyāśakti*), because she brings about the state of variety of the universe. The *paśu* does not recognize his real nature which is veiled by her. Thus she becomes a source of bondage. When the yogi recognizes this operative power as the Supreme Power (*parā-śakti*), the means of approach to his real nature which is Śiva, then she brings about the highest achievement full of supreme bliss".¹⁰⁰ "She, *śakti*, is declared as the door of entrance into Śiva (*tadāsau śivarūpi syāt śaivī mukham ihocyate*, VBh 20). When, however, he is firmly rooted in that supreme *spanda* principle, then bringing the emergence and dissolution of the *puraṣṭaka* entirely under his control, he becomes the real collective whole of *Śaktis (cakreśvara)*".¹⁰¹

It is by dispelling the confusion which identifies the not-self as the self, and the self as the not-self, that the *spanda* realisation arises. It is not that the *spanda-tattva* is originated then because it is always existing. It is ever present and is matter of our re-cognizing it.

The arc of ascent is performed through the recognition

that whether in word, object or thought, there is no state which is not Śiva.¹⁰² One should not regard oneself as imperfect in any state, like being a body, etc., rather one should consider oneself as being of Śiva's nature who is a dense mass of consciousness. Only this is the manifestation of the object in the meditator's mind : the realization by the meditator, endowed with a strong will, of being one with the support of meditation, with that which is meditated upon.¹⁰³

Kṣemarāja emphasizes that only this is the real realization of Self, that only this is the initiation leading to identity with Śiva, following the dictum that 'one should worship Śiva by becoming Śiva.' In this consists the manifestation of the object of meditation in the meditator's mind, leading to the realization of identity with the object of meditation,¹⁰⁴ the supreme object of meditation being Śiva himself, the pacific, the benign, the silent one.

(2) Coincidentia Oppositorum

It has already been pointed out that the relation between *spanda* and Śiva or the self is realized through *nimīlana-samādhi*, and that the relationship between *spanda* and the universe is to be realized through *unmīlana-samādhi*, meaning respectively *samādhi* with closed or open eyes.¹⁰⁵ The successive experience of both *samādhis* in continuity is called *pratimīlana* (*bhuyaḥ syāt pratimīlanam*, ŚSv3/45). The aim is to reach the interpenetration of both : the absorption into the *spanda* principle is to be brought about by both introversive (*nimīlana*) and extroversive (*unmīlana*) meditations both of which are to be interpenetrative (*ubhaya visargārāṇi bhūtaḥ*, *SpNir* III intrd.) That is to say, the inner experience has to be experienced externally and viceversa. The abolition of the spatial categories of inner and outer symbolizes the realization of a trans-spatial status indicative of transcendence of ontological limitations.¹⁰⁶ *Pratimīlana-samādhi* is akin to *Bhairavī-mudrā*¹⁰⁷, the state in which the attention is turned inwards while the gaze should be turned outwards without the twinkling of the eyes. This is also called *śakti-vikāśa*, one of the practices for *madhya-vikāśa* (cf. *Phr* 17-18). It is the highest sense of *unmīlana*. While the process itself refers to the *krama-mudrā*¹⁰⁸, which is the condition

in which the mind swings consciously alternatively between the internal and the external. This is also called *kramābhyāsa* or sequential practice or *pratimīlana*, thus understood as being a process and not a state. *Unmīlana*, when taken to designate the ultimate state, is also called *sahaja-vidyā*, *śuddha-vidyā*, *vidyā-tattva*, *unmanā*, etc.¹⁰⁹ All these terms also mean *samāveśa*, penetration to or interpenetration with, equality, a most important term to designate the ultimate goal in KŚ.¹¹⁰

It can be observed that the characteristic of all these different types of practices and spiritual states is that they follow and transcend the polarity pattern which characterizes the manifestation of *spanda*. Each one of the poles or moments constituting the dyad is known through a type of practices and stages.¹¹¹ The ultimate aim, *samarasya*, *yāmala*, buddhist *yuganadha*, thus being akin to the Coincidentia Oppositorum practice and realization of the Western Medieval alchemists, which as their Eastern counterparts, cultivated the way of mercury (*rasayāna*) to achieve the alchemists's aims.

But the peculiarity of the yoga of the Kāśmir Śaivas is that it interpenetrates one pole into the other, transcending the dichotomising concretely, refusing thus simplistic patterns-of-two views and realizations of reality.¹¹²

In the ascetic trend of the Hindu tradition, the emphasis was placed in closed-eyes *samādhi*, which means in the pure subjectivity disregarding objectivity in the process of self-realization. Here, in KŚ, in a yogic shift that express also the philosophical turn that enlarges the Hindu vision of the Ultimate Reality, We find the natural complement : *samādhi* with open eyes, signifying the recognition and re-evaluation of the exterior, objective cosmic reality. Secondly is pointed out the interpenetration of the interior with the exterior and viceversa. This gives in quintessence the set of practices related with *spanda* : either extremizing one of the poles or aspects which constitute a polarity, to universalize it absorbing the other, or equalizing both, or naturally interpenetrating or the fussioning of both.

Conclusion

The symbolic cluster of *hrd-spanda* encloses the teaching

and the practice of duality-in-unity : the vivid images of the pulsating heart proves to be profoundly meaningful. This images teaches us how the rhythmic alternation of polar opposites are integral and necessary complementarities to the functioning of the chief vital organ, indeed in-built in its very beingness. Thus, binarism is solved in sequential, phased closures and disclosures which sum up all the possibilities as contained in the two polar moments. The temporal length and spatial extension of each opposite movement is curved by exact delimitations, in which indeed the peak of manifestation of a movement (or principle, nature) consists as well in the first moment of its opposite, as if returning to it. While the image at the surface level suggests circularity and hence endless repetitions, conceptually is susceptible of being extended to indicate the dialectical process. Thus, while considering contradictions, oppositions to be at the core of reality, we can think of these tensions, however, as going beyond a level of chaotic, antagonizing, conflict to rather structuralize themselves, starting thus a process of harmonious growth which reconciliates circular repetitiveness and linear scattering in a deepening spiral-like movement of consciousness unfolding.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. We have reviewed the association of *hṛdaya* to *prakāśa*, *triṇa*, *guhā* in OLP 14 (1983), 17 (1986), 19 (1988), respectively; with *vac*, and time and *prāṇa*, in *Ānvīkṣikī* III/ 1 & 2 (1990); and with *ākāśa*, and then *spanda* & *nāda*, in *Sandhāna* III (1990), V (1992).
2. Without ignoring the existence of similarities with corresponding conceptions and beliefs in other, non-Indian philosophical, religious, and scientific traditions. especially in what respects to mysticism and physiology, we shall however maintain ourselves in this exposition mostly within the parameters of the Indian traditions.
3. These notions and terms are those subject to significant analogical etc., expansions or developments. These fluctuations and transitions, which go from literal to technical senses, spring from an original polysemy or semantic tension contained in them. They are protected in the inlinguistic-literary fields pervaded by them.
4. As graspable through their function, impact, analogues and synonyms, etc.

5. Cf. here p. 32.
6. A very clear and penetrating definition of the concept of cluster as employed by the aesthetician and art historian W. Tatarkiewicz contrasted with the concept of semantic families of Wittgenstein is given by B. Dziemidok, in *W. Tatarkiewicz y su Estetica* p. 23 (in W. Tatarkiewicz, *Historia de Seis Ideas*, Madrid 1992). : "it is the more noteworthy the achievement of the Polish erudite (Tatarkiewicz) considering that his conception of defining basic concepts of aesthetic was born in 1931, much before that the arising of the similar conception of semantic families of L. Wittgenstein. The difference which exists between Tatarkiewicz and Wittgenstein is that Wittgenstein thought that it was not possible to define the semantic families. In his work *The Concept of Type in Art* (1931) Tatarkiewicz studied the existing possibilities of doing it so, at least partially (...). He was conscious of the existing possibility of creating aesthetical phenomena and of classifying them not only in classes but also in clusters. The clusters are formed in a similar way than playing the dominoe : adjacent phenomenon should have a similar aspect among them, yet the members of the same cluster which remain afar among them not necessarily are similar". The employment of a similar concept of cluster is the chief methodological strategy employed by me to break through the compact conceptual rethoric of Kaśmir Śaiva and Tāntric texts, where we emphasize the semantic functionality of the intermediating or connecting links to organize an otherwise scattered data, at a level of a buried structuralizing semantic layer of the discourse. The method of clustering inter-related terms for mnemonical purpose is already employed by lexicons as the *Amarakoṣa*.
7. Here we should refer to the relatively recent additions to the bibliography on the subject, noteworthy the works of M. Dyczkowski, *Doctrine of Vibration*, and *Stanzas of Vibration* (Sury, 1987 & 1992); L. Silburn, *Spandakārikā*, Paris 1990; N. Gurutu, *Spanda Kārikā*, Delhi 1981.
8. There is an evident historical distance from the formulations, of the ancient philosophical literatures. Is it so, however, in what refers to the thing meant ? The exploration of the necessary relation of a discourse with what it means, or wants to say, should not obscure the philosophical necessity as well to divorce—desirable when possible—formulations from contents. That is, to explore the validity of contents in their factuality, which ought to be verifiable in logico-philosophical categories—i.e. to be able to sustain a rational

- analysis—, as well as in the tests of empiricity.
9. Phases, rhythms, in relation to time, have been referred to in my *Indian Philosophy and its Interconnections with Science : Time and Related Concepts in Kāśmir Śaivism*, in *Anvikṣiki* III/1 p. 71 ss; with sound and vibration, in *From Myth to the Aesthetic and the Methaphysical : Mytho-Symbolic Unfoldments in Indian Culture*, p. 108 ss.
 10. The *Tarka-Samgraha* distinguishes the following kinds of *karmani* : upwards, downwards, contraction, expansion, several motion, cf. Athalye, *Tarka-Samgraha*, p. 87 ss. On action, also Sw. Virupakshananda, transl., *Tarka-Samgraha*, p. 173; *Manameyodaya*, p. 282 ss.
 11. Cf. *Tattva-Kaumudī* 10, in *Kālasamuddesa*, p. 21 fn 2.
 12. If the affirmation of ultimate principles or substances, aligns *KŚ* with the various Indian "essentialisms", its acceptance of the reality and ultimacy of dynamism aligns it with Indian "existencialisms". *KŚ* or Tantra, attempt to bridge both isms.
 13. "*hṛt-spanda* (beatings of the heart)", *Doctrine of Pathology in Ayur-Veda*, p. 73; "heard-rate" (*hrdaya-spanda-vega*), in *BAMS Sareera Kriya Vijñan*, p. 223.
 14. On dreams, sleep, lucidity, and their connection to *hrdaya* in *KŚ* see M. Dyczkowski, *The Stanzas of Vibration*, SUNY, 1992, pp. 243, 341 n 25; 353 n 120, 372 n 139. Lucidity is practiced in the yoga of dreams, one of the six yogas of Siddha Nāropā and Sister Niguma, practice preserved in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism upto our days. For a different cultural contextual reference to similar lucidity-practices refer to the works of C. Castaneda which deal with 'Nagualismo'.
 15. Cf. A. Haldar, *Some Psychological Aspects of Early Buddhist Philosophy Based on Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu*, Calcutta 1981, p. 20. It is interesting to note that the preceding quotation comes from the context of an elaboration on the intermediary state or *antarābhava*, which thus becomes the *sarvāstivādi* antecedent of what in latter Buddhism in Tibet shall be the *Bardo*, state, teaching about which is assigned by tradition to the Kāśmiri Padma-Sambhava.
 16. *ĪPv* III/1/8, p. 197 of Pandey's transl.
 17. We have dealt with this point in *Hermeneutis of Symbolic 'Spatial' terms* (for full reference see foot note 40 here).
 18. *The Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, transl. by A.M. Sastri, Madras 1980, p. 20; in this context "Heart" means *antaḥ-karana*, the inner sense, the *linga-śarīra* " (*ib.*, p. 17).
 19. In this case the concurrence of terms is paralleled by a concurrence of ideas in an evident percentage; the case

in which morphological concurrences are not semantically the same (paronymy) are brought more strongly into prominence, when in the process of translation—fact which leads to consider the possibilities and impossibilities which translation discloses, that is to say, leads us to a theory of translation.

20. To illustrate the complexity of medical exegesis, as well as to indicate the wealth of possibilities which it provides to understand in perhaps quite essential manners the Tāntric discourse, we would like to quote, as an instance, a contemporary rendering of the cardio-respiratory process based on the *Caraka-Samhitā* (*BAMS Sareera Kriyā Vignan*, p. 144-145.)

the *prāṇa-vata*, situated in (the) *Nabhi*, travels to (the) *Hṛt-kamalantara* and from there it travels to (the) *Kantha* from where it comes out to the environment to take the *Viṣṇu-pada-amṛta* or *ambara-piyusha* and returns to the body to nourish the tissues

where, according to the contemporary expositor, by '*nabhi*' is to be understood *hṛdaya* by '*hṛdaya*', *puphusa* (lungs), and by '*Viṣṇu-pada-amṛta*' oxygen (*prāṇa*).

A tabular formulation shall make more evident the semantic shifts which have taken place according to the expositor :

text says	contemporary expositor understands
<i>nabhi</i>	<i>hṛdaya</i>
<i>hṛdaya</i>	<i>puphusa</i>
<i>Viṣṇu-pada-amṛta</i>	<i>prāṇa</i>

21. 3/29, cf. also 4/51 : "When the *viññāna* is merely vibrating (*viññāna spandamane vai*), the appearances (*abhasa*) do not arise from anything else; as a result of non-vibration (*nispanda*), they (the appearances are) not elsewhere other than there, nor do they enter the *viññāna*'. (*Gaudapada-Kārikā* ed. & transl. by R.D. Karmarkar, Poona 1973, pp. 26 & 44). These employment of the terms *abhasa*, *viññāna*, is similar to the Kāśmīr Śaiva and Viññānavadin meanings of *abhasa* and *viññāna* respectively.
22. Cf. S. Kaplan, *Hermeneutics, Holography and Indian Idealism*, p. 69. It is interesting to note that in this book the author attempts through the analysis of holographic technology and of its perception or cognition—i.e., three dimensional like bodies—optical presentations to understand the phenomena of *māyā*, in which something is presented or

projected to our perceptorial field without really being there. Thus, a contemporary technology of illusionism is employed as a metaphore to intuit ancient metaphysical doctrines. Moreover, the simile can be extended to indicate also correspondent techniks and not only a concurrence on the ground of meant or implied ultimates. For instance, systematic visualizative meditations succeed in creating a virtual-reality-like through the agency of imagination. Hence that an encompassing theory of imagination would consider imagination's visualizative methodologies, its symbolic transpositions and transformations, the oniric, etc., and its relationship with a philosophy of technology (being technology a province of active interaction with reality differentiated from science's understanding-only orientation), which considers especially illusionist technology, its social, psychological and physiological implications, and its philosophical significances.

Symbolical systems function as mnemonical devices. In this respect see F. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, and related books of the same author. A theory of imagination, thus, implies an explanation of memory and recognition; imaginational techniques are applied for retrieval of contents into awareness or consciousness.

23. V.S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi, 1975, p. 1011; also R.K. Kaw, *The Doctrine of Recognition*, Hoshiarpur, 1967, p. 262-263. Cf. also our 'Mytho-Symbolic Unfoldments in Indian Culture', p. 116 (3.1.2).
24. The triangular or inverted pyramid-like shape of the heart resides at the basis of that symbolism that intertwines the semantic fields of heart and triangle.
25. The kernel of the cluster-like semantic organization.
26. On the general phenomenology of the symbolism of water, refer to the thought-provoking exposition and interpretation of F. Baartmans, '*Āpah*', *the Sacred Waters*, Delhi 1990; on *hṛdaya-samudra*, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 7, 317.
27. Referring to the oceanic or similar realities from which are borrowed, there are the terms *ūrmi*, *tarangi*, *laharī*, all of which expressing 'wave', in occasions synonymal or quasi-synonymal in their technical acceptance to heart, *spanda*, etc.
28. Cf. L. Silburn, *Śivasūtra*, introduction, p. 5-6; K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, p. 375 ss.; R. Gnoli, *Luce*, intrd., p. 17-18; J. Rudrappa, *Kāśmir Śaivism*, p. 42-43; J. Singh, *Spanda Kārikās* intrd., p. xvii-xviii; L.N. Sharma, *Kāśmir Śaivism*, p. 181; R.K. Kaw, *ibid.*, p. 329-330. Besides, it is noticeable

that *hṛdaya* and *spanda* are interchangeable terms as in *PTv* p. 207; *SpNir* III/13; *ĪPv* I/V/14; *ṢTTS* 2 comm. of Ānandakavi.

29. *evacitsvābhāvyādacalasyāpi śrībhagavataḥ svātantrya-śaktir kiñcicalattātmaka dhātvarthānugamātspanda ityabhihitā, tena bhagavānsadā spandatattvasatattvanatva spandaḥ* ... (J. Singh, *Spanda-kārikās*, Delhi, 1980; cf. also L. Silburn, *Spandakārikā*, p. 61-62.
30. For *kimciccalanam*, cf. *TĀ* V/181b-186a, *VS* 7, 10, & comm. These quotations introduce us to some of the most important concepts pertaining to the set of notions clustered around *spanda*, i.e., *svātantrya*, *kiñcit calatta*, *krama*, and likewise.
31. J. Singh, *ibid.*, p. 155; L. Silburn, *ibid.*, p. 13. It is to be noted that in the same context it is said : *iha yo'yam prakāśātma srasvabhāvaḥ śāmkara uktah... śrisvacchandaśāstradrṣṭavya nijaśaktyāśliṣṭaḥ sadā pañcavidhakarīyakārī svatantraḥ spandalaliteśvarādisabdairāgameṣudghoṣyate*, by which statement we come to know that *spanda*, *lalita*, *īśvara* are designations of Śiva.
32. An extremely important list of synonyms is the one of *ĪPK*, 44-45, which includes *pratyamarsā*, *parā-vāk*, *svarasoditā*, *svātantrya*, *aiśvarya*, *aphurattā* (which Abhinavagupta glosses as *spanda* in his *vimarśinī*), *mahāsattā*, *deśakālāviśeṣinī*, *saiṣā sāratayā*, *hṛdaya* (glossed as *viśrantī*).
33. On *nāmakīrtana*, *nāmastotra* and *sahasranāma*, refer to J. Gonda, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, fasc. I, *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit*, p. 267-270.
34. *iyadvīśvavaichitryacalattāmiva svātmani prathyantī* (*SpNir*, *ib*).
35. *vimarśaśaktiricchātvaṁ pratipadya jñānakriyārupatayā sthitvā śivaśaktiparāmarśātma bījayonibhedena dvidhā bhūtvā*. *SpK*, p. 153 & 155. ♪
36. *ĪPv* I/1/4, in *Bhāskari* III p. 17.
37. *sphuttāsāraspandaśakti* (*SpNir* I/1)
38. For the meaning of *sphūraṇa* in a *śākta* context, refer for instance to J. Woodroffe, *KKV* p. 152 fn 2.
39. Cf. my '*Indian Philosophy and its Inter-Connections with Science...*', p. 66 *ss*.
40. Cf. J. Singh, *ibid.*, p. 21; L. Silburn, *ibid.*, p. 45; M. Dyczkowski, *Stanzas*, p. 63.
41. The above mentioned lists of names can be fruitfully compared with the lists of names *hṛdaya* (the Lord's *hṛdaya*) given in our '*Hṛd, heart as core in Kāśmir Śaivism*' and with the different senses of the term *hṛdaya* enumerated in our '*A*

Hermeneutics of Symbolic Spatial Terms and their Relationship with the 'Heart' in the Śivaism of Kāśmir, both unpublished.

42. On the placing of the *Spanda* School in the context of Indian Philosophy at large, cf. M.S.G. Dyczkowski, *The Doctrine of Vibration*, p. 33 ss, L. Silburn, *Spandakārikā*, p. 8 ss.
43. *SpK* 3/16
44. *SpNir*, *ib.*, also 1/5, & 8. ; also *yadāhuḥ kecit'aspandam param tattvam'iti. evaṁ hi śāntasvarūpatvādānī śvaramevāitadbhavet. SpNir*, 1/1 in Singh, *ib.*, p. 6. For an instance of the use of the term *spanda* in Advaita Vedānta context cf. *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* 4/47-48, & 72.
45. J. Singh, introduction to *SS*, p. xxiii-xxiv; also *SSv*, III.7; L. Silburn, *MM*, p. 41-42; *SpK*, II.6-7 & *nirnaya*; *ibid.*, p. 125-126, exposition by J. Singh.
46. *nairātmya, anīshvaratva.*
47. See notably, V. Dvivedi's *Upodghata to Bauddha Tantra Kośa, bhāga* 1, Sarnath, 1990. Nepalese culture shows a coexistence of Saiva and Bauddha tantrisms perhaps having evolved to a certain complementarity. Greater India in South-East Asia seems to have known a similar proximity.
48. Refer to the remarks of K. Dowman in *Sky Dancer*, p. 274 ss, on the *Nyingma* Lineages (London, 1984).
49. While often disagreeing in what may seem philosophical subtleties and minutiae,—differences in kind but not in species, different elucidations of same points, realities, arguments or problems—; there is however a parallel socio-economic-political reality concurring with the philosophical differences not to be ignored, and this latter aspect is to be appreciated diachronically to be properly assessed.
50. L. Silburn, *Śivasūtra*, p. 5-6.
51. *taccamatkara icchāśaktiḥ*, *TS* 1. We have referred to the aesthetic association of *spanda* in 'An Approach to Traditional Indian Linguistic-Symbolic Conceptions and their Relation with Metaphysics', in *Anvikṣikī* III/2 p. 188-189, and in 'Mytho-Symbolic Unfoldments...', p. 117 ss. For a fuller exposition refer to R. Gnoli, *The Aesthetic Experience in Abhinavagupta*.
52. Another important definition of *icchā-śakti* is given in *ŚS* 1/13 : *icchā śāktir umā kumārī*.
53. R. Gnoli, *Vāc, Ist. Chapter of the Śiva-Dṛṣṭi of Somānanda*, p. 19, in *EW*, 1957. Also R.K. Kaw, *ibid.*, p. 67-68, 329-330.
54. Contemporary psychology would add 'motivation', 'drive', 'interest', to impulse and desire.
55. Extracted from L. Silburn, introduction to *MM*, p. 30-31.

56. L. Silburn, *ibid.*, p. 29 fn 4; *ĪPv* 1/1/4, in *Bhāskarī* III p. 16-17.
57. L. Silburn, *ib.*, p. 30 & fn 3; *ĪPv* 1/5/11 in *Bhāskarī* p. 71.
58. *uddiyamo bhairavaḥ, ŚS*
59. L. Silburn, *Śivasūtra*, intrd. p. 13.
60. On *ātma* and *śiva vyāptis*, cf. J. Singh, *ŚS*, p. 149 notes 1 & 2.
61. L. Silburn, *MM*, p. 47.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *ucchalanātmakaparapratibhonnmajjanarūpa udyamaḥ sa eva sarvaśaktisamarasyena*, in Singh, *ŚS*, p. 30.
64. *Ibid.*, also *ŚSbh* p. 16.
65. Singh, *ib.*
66. *MVv*, p. 113, in *Vāc*, appendice II, p. 78 ss. Also refer to *PTv*, p. 45-52, 81-83.
67. *Sā ca drśyā hrduddese kāryasmaranākālataḥ. praharṣā-vedasamaye da rasamdarśanakṣaṇe. eteṣveva prasangeṣu sarvaśaktivilolatā. ŚDṛ*, 9-IIa. See also R. Gnoli, *Vāk*, p. 19 (*EW*, 1957); L. Silburn, *Spandakārikā*, p. 191-192.
68. See *ŚDṛ*, 13b-17.
69. *atikruddhaḥ prahrṣto vā kiṃ karomi iti vā mṛśān. dhāvan vāyatpadam gacchet tatra spandah pratiṣṭhitah (SpK, I.22).*
70. *SpNir*, I. 22; cf. L. Silburn, *Spandakarika*, p. 98, & *Stanzas*, p. 100.
71. *Ibid.*
72. Singh, *SpK*, p. 104; *Stanzas*, p. 102.
73. *kāmakrodhalobhamohamadamātsaryagocare. buddhiṃ nīstīmitām kṛtvā tat tattvam avaśiṣyāte.*
74. See the comm. of J. Singh and L. Silburn on their translation of *VBh*, 101.
75. *kṣutādyante bhaye śoke gahvare vā raṇād drute. kuṭūhale kṣudhādyante brahmasattāmayī daśa.*
76. J. Singh, *VBh*, p. 106. The stalking to the interval-states : between thought and thought, between awakening and sleep, etc., is a *KŚyogic* practice, through which one reaches foundational states of consciousness. As we have pointed somewhere else, these intervals or intermediary states are designated as *ākāśas*, *sūnyas*, in sanskrit tantra. They are akin to the *Bardos* of the Tibetan tantra.
77. The yoga of the intervals or transitional states is an example on the practical side of the agreement among these different traditions, in this regard.
78. Singh, *SpK*, p. 10; Silburn, *SpK*, p. 62.
79. *tadevamekaivobhayarupāpi śaktiḥ kadāchidunmeṣapradhānātayāvyaya hriyate kadāchinnameṣapradhānatayā (SpNir, ibid.).*

80. *yugapadevonneṣanimeṣabhayarūpām pratibhām bhagavatīm* (*SpNir*, *ibid.*).
81. Singh, *ib.*, p. 155; Silburn, *ib.*, p. 126.
82. *vastutastu na kinchidudeti vyayate va, kevalam spandaśaktireva bhagavatyakramāpi tathāthābhāsarupatayā sphurantyudetīva vyayate iva ca* (*SpNir* 1/1).
83. J. Rudrappa, *ibid.*, p. 57; B.N. Pandit, *ibid.*, p. 9.
84. *tatra jñātrtā nāma unmeṣanimeṣalakṣaṇena saṁkocavikāśātmajñānakriyā lakṣaṇena svabhavena svapari-spandasāra natu pariniṣṭitā* (*PTlv* 5-8).
85. *avathayugalam cātra kāryakartṛtva-śabditam, kāryatā kṣayinītatra kartṛtvam punarakṣayam* (*SpK* 14). 'atra' in 'avasthāyugalam cātra' means spanda-principle, precises Kṣemarāja in the *Nirṇaya*.
86. *yaddhvanām ca śaktāṁ prakāśārtha lakṣaṇamardham. vimarśaśabdasvabhāvamardhamiti śivasya yāmalollāsaḥ* (*MM* 27). Also *Lalitā-Sahasranāman* 991, with Bhaskararaya's comm.
87. Cf. V.S. Agrawala's foreword to *Rajovada* of M. Ojha, p. 37-38. The following lines of the text are extracted from there.
88. On the doctrine of *prāṇāpana*, cf. V.S. Agrawala, *ibid.*, p. 13-14.
89. *SpNir* 3/13 : *śabdarāśi samutthasya śaktivargasya bhogyatām. kalāviluptavibhavo gataḥ sa pasūḥ smṛtaḥ.*
90. *nanu katham bhoktā mahēśvara imānavasthām prāptaḥ, kalāviluptavibhavaḥ.* Cf. Singh, p. 157; Silburn, 126.
91. *iva kṣaṇamapi svarupasthitīm na labhate yataḥ, ato'sāvuktarupaḥ śaktivargeṇa bhujiyamānaḥ paśuruktaḥ.*
92. *SpNir* 3/13; Singh, *ib.*; Silburn, p. 127; also *Stanzas*, p. 121, 172-173.
93. "Le terme kalā désigne l'énergie d'illusion qui en projetant à l'extérieur découpe et delimite; le Seigneur est ainsi destitué de sa glorieuse puissance, voilé par sa propre énergie d'illusion". (L.Silburn, *SpK*, p. 126) (*SpNir* 3/13).
94. *SpNir* 3/14 : *parāmr̥tarasāpāyas tasya yaḥ pratyayodbhavaḥ, tenāsvatantratām eti sa ca tanmātragocaraḥ.*
95. *SpK* 3/14; Singh, p. 161; Silburn, p. 128.
96. *SpNir* 3/15 : *svrupavarane casya saktayah satatotthitah yataḥ sabdanuvedhena na vinapratyayobhavaḥ.*
97. Singh, *ibid.*, p. 163; Silburn, *ibid.*, p. 129.
98. See exposition of J. Singh on this *kārikā* in *SpK*, p. 162.
99. *SpNir* 3/16 : *seyam kriyātmikā śaktiḥ śivasya paśuvartinī. bandhayitrī svamārgasthā jñātā siddhyupapādikā* (Singh, p. 165; Silburn, p. 130).
100. Singh, p. 165-166.

101. Singh, p. 190 : *yadā tvekatra samrūḍhas tadā tasya layodayau. niyacchan bhoktrtām eti ta taścakreśvaro bhavet.*
102. Singh, p. 62 (*SpNir* 1/9).
103. *SpNir* 3/6-7 :
*ayamevodayas tasya dhyeyasya dhyāti-cetasi/
tadātmatāsamāpattir icchātaḥ sādhakasyayā||⁶
iyamevāmṛtaprāptir ayamevātmano grahaḥ/
iyam nirvāṇa-dikṣā ca śiva-sadbhāvadāyini||⁷*
104. *SpNir* 2/6-7.
105. On *nimīlana-samādhi* : J. Singh, *Phr*, p. 137; On *unmīlana*, *ibid.*, *SS*, p. 232; On *pratimīlana*, *SS*, III.45 and *vimarśinī*.
106. Spatiality, inter-spatiality (inter-subjectivity), and trans-spatiality (trans-subjectivity), are categorizations of reality to be carefully scrutinized.
107. *Bhairava* or *Bhairavī-mudrā*, cf. *Phr*, 12 & comm. also *SpNir*, I.II. On *Śakti-vikāsa*, *Phr*, 18 & comm.; also J. Singh, *Phr*, note 155 on *vikāsa*.
108. On *karma-mudrā*, see *Phr*, 19 & comm On the series of *mudrās* practiced by the *Krama* school, *VBh* 77, and *MM* 38, and comm. of L. Silburn.
109. On *Suddhavidyā* : *SS*, I.21; On *Sahajavidyā* : *ibid.*, III.7 & 18. The entire second section of the *SpK* is dedicated to expose the rise of *Sahaja* or *Suddhavidyā*; On *umnamā*, J. Singh, *VBh*, introduction, p. xxviii-xxix. Equivalent to *Sahaja* is the *Sāhasa* of the *VS*, as well as *Śambhava-upāya*.
110. On *samāveśa*, J. Singh, *Phr*, p. 108-109. *TA*, I.173b-174a; on three types of *samāveśa*, *TA*, I.168-170.
111. See also *vahni/viśa*, *VBh*, 68; *Phr*, 18 comm. Also *prasara-viśrānti*. J. Singh, *Phr*, p. 135, note 155.
112. As the terms *prāveśa*, *samāveśa*, *vyāpti*, *sāmarasya*, *yamala*, *saṁghaṭṭa*, *pratyāhāra*, *kulabindu*, *saṁputīkaraṇa*, *samāpatti*, etc. indicate.

WORSHIP OF VIṢṆU'S FEET : A UNIQUE REPRESENTATION

—N. P. Joshi*

Prof. Dr. Herbert Hartel, former Director of the Museum für Indi'sche Kunst, Berlin was kind enough to show me a unique sculpture from Mathura, which is in the collection of this Museum (Acc. No. MIK I 5861; Pls. I a-b). It is a small red sand stone piece about 13.X 13 cm in size. It is somewhat injured from the top and right side. The sculpture shows two feet of some deity placed side by side on a lotus seat, which is flanked by two small platforms. The platform on the left bears a wheel decorated with six petalled full blown flower. The object on the corresponding platform is now missing. The lotus seat bearing the feet rests on a rectangular high pedestal with mouldings. Most interesting feature is that the two feet together have been provided with a crested head gear or turban of typical Kuṣāṇa style. Following the Kuṣāṇa tradition the piece has been carved in round and naturally, therefore the reverse shows two beautiful tassels of the fluted headgear suspended downwards. As the head gear crowning the feet is almost complete, it can be presumed that there was no other member on the top.

It is apparent that in this case the sacred feet (*carāṇa* or *pāda*) of some deity have been treated as an independent object for worship, and both the feet together have been provided with a common headgear. Who could be this deity? The clue, in our opinion is to be found in the decorated wheel (*cakra*) placed on the left platform nearby. If we presume the missing object on right to be a mace (*gadā*) the deity can unquestionably be suggested to be Viṣṇu. The view finds support from a piece in the Government Museum at Mathura (G.M.M. 15.512-Pl.2), which shows seated Viṣṇu of early 5th century A.D. with *gadā* resting on ground held in

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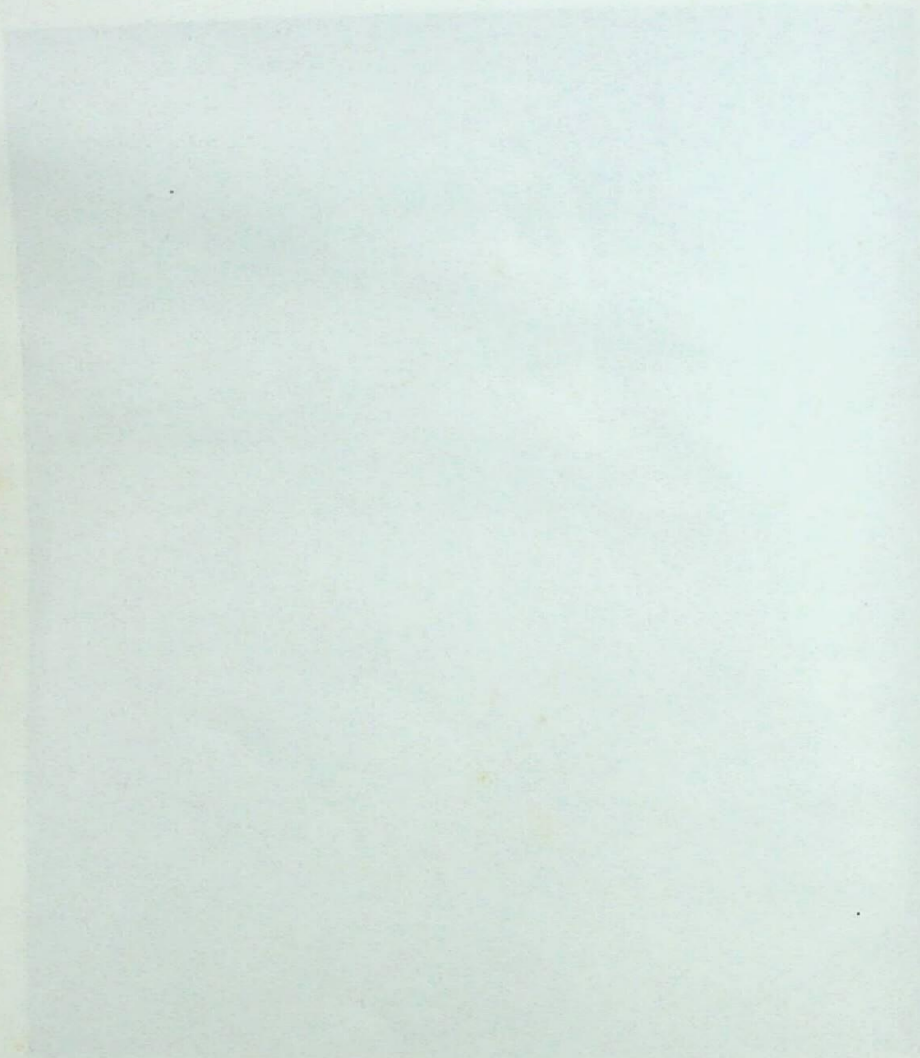
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extra right hand, similarly *cakra* on extra left and conch carried in the normal left hand. The normal right hand has been raised to the shoulder in *abhaya* pose. Needless to say that in this image old Kuṣāṇa tradition has been closely followed.

In the sculpture under reference the fluted headgear is typically Kuṣāṇa, the pedestal with mouldings and *cakra* bearing floral decoration speak of its being Kuṣāṇa in date; but the full blown lotus serving as the seat for the feet is certainly a new feature, with which generally we come across in quite a late period.

Worship of the foot prints symbolizing the deity has been an age old practice, but the feet themselves serving as a symbol of viṣṇu, as in this case is an unparallel phenomena.

AESTHETIC CONCEPTS OF KALIDASA AND THEIR CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE VEDIC SYMBOLOGY

—Mrs. Pushpa Tiwari*

In this short paper an attempt has been made to analyse the aesthetic concepts as revealed in various motifs, symbols, expressions and content of Kalidasa's writings with a view to explain the continuity of these motifs from the earliest known literary works, i.e. Vedic tradition up to the time of Kalidasa. It seems that repertory from where Kalidasa has taken his substance belongs to the *Vedic-Shastric-Puranic* traditions and was the common legacy of society irrespective of caste and creed. For example one may find interesting parallels between Kalidasa's expressions and Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Same ideas, imagery, expressions, motifs and references pertaining to art and life are found in this tradition also.¹

Though there is much dispute regarding the date of Kalidasa, yet most of the scholars generally place him in the Gupta period. Kalidasa and Gupta art-idiom both have been described as the outcome of the most refined and sophisticated environment which was urbane in character. Various art scholars² have described Gupta art idiom as the very synthesis of the external form and the inner meaning. Kalidasa has reflected upon this synthesis in his famous Shloka of *Raghuvamsham* as:

वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ।।³ [1.1]

As mentioned by Kalidasa Gupta art-idiom represents the union of external and internal forms just like the union of speech and meaning/thought.

Aesthetics of the 'science/philosophy of art and beauty'

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also tries to explore and reveal this union or the synthesized content and substance of any art. It is not limited merely to the analysis of the sequences and external characteristics. Rather it tries to reveal and explain what it is (artefact) all about. Aesthetic interpretations become superficial if they leave the understanding of the content of any artefact whether pictorial, verbal or visual. One can study the various stylistic influences in any art-object or piece of literature but as Coomaraswamy has reflected that - "the study of influences" should be regarded as one of the least important aspects of the history of art and hybrid arts as the least important of all arts. We can think one another's thoughts, ideas being independent of time and local position, but we cannot express them for one another, but only in our own way."⁴ In fact in every traditional society the ownership of ideas was never practised.

In the light of this criteria of understanding which implies a formal endorsement and identification of our own consciousness with the object under consideration, let us examine various verbal symbols and motifs belonging to the vedic tradition and the way Kalidasa has expressed them, transformed them into a piece of immortal poetic imagery and also how this expression and the unique way of representation constitute the essence of Kalidasa. It seems that content or substance remains the same only 'style' or outer form changes. According to Coomaraswamy 'man' is the 'style' or variable and 'iconography' i.e. the 'revealed' or 'heard' knowledge is the constant of any traditional art⁵. How far the man or style has done justice to its substance/content forms the very basis of calling that particular object as "classical" or "masterpiece".

The whole of the Vedic philosophy revolves around the form and idea of human body conceptualized as the 'Purush' various art scholars⁶ have clearly explained the fact that pivot of Gupta art is human figure. As for Kalidasa it would suffice to say that he seems to be the great lover of humanity⁷ and to him man is the best creation of the Creator, representing the very essence of Nature and God. He is so much engrossed with the ideal form of human body that in his works he has tried to humanize the beauty of Nature defining it as the mirror image of the man. In the *Aitareya*

Upanishad human body is imagined as the most appropriate abode for various Devatas to reside into -

"ताम्यः पुरुषमानयत्ता आबुवन् सुकृतं बतेति । पुरुषो वास सुकृतम् ।
ता अब्रवीद्यथायतनं प्रतिशतेति ।" [1.2.3]

It refers to the occasion when Devatas were searching for an appropriate abode for themselves. Various forms such as cow, horse etc. were offered to them but they all rejected them because of their non-suitability. Ultimately human body or 'Purush' was offered to them and they all agreed and praised its beauty and perfectness. One can easily understand that here the superiority of human form is accepted without any doubt. Likewise Kalidasa seems to revel in describing the ideal form of human body. All his heroes and heroines are human beings and if they are semi divine as in *Meghadutam* even then human characteristics are attributed to them. In essence nature and human form are the same. *Aitareya Upanishad* describes how the various devatas symbolizing various aspects of nature were born out of the various parts of 'Hiranyagarbh Purush'⁸ and how again they returned back to their respective parts of 'Purush' or human body.⁹

"अग्निर्वाग्भूत्वा मुखं प्राविशद्वायुः प्राणो भूत्वा नासिके
प्राविशदादित्यश्चक्षुर्भूत्वाक्षिणी प्राविशद्दिशः श्रोत्रं भूत्वा कर्णो
प्राविशन्नोणधिवनस्पतयो लोमानि भूत्वा त्वचं
प्राविशंचन्द्रमा मनो भूत्वा हृदयं प्राविशन्-----"[1.2.4]

Kalidasa has used the same symbology while describing the beauty of various parts of his heroines. But the dryness of this mechanical process as referred to in the *Aitareya Upanishad* gets transformed into a piece of elegant poetic imagery in the hands of Kalidasa. For example in *Kumarsambhavam* he compares the beauty of various parts of Parvati with those of natural objects such as birds, creepers, flowers, moon etc.¹⁰ He sees the essence of whole nature in the physical charm of Parvati -

सर्वोपमा द्रव्य समुच्चयेन यथाप्रदेशं विनिवेशतेन ।

सा निर्मिता विश्वसृजा प्रयत्नादेकस्य सौन्दर्यं दिदृक्षयेव ।¹¹ [1.49]

The symbology here is same that is suggesting the cosmic patterns of human body as it was conceived by the Vedic seers. This symbology was beautifully transformed into plastic models in the Gupta art which has been described by the famous art historian Stella Kramrisch as "where nature as a whole is taken into and expressed by a transfigured body."¹² The way Kalidasa has expressed his concept of beauty or the microcosm of the human body and the way Gupta art idiom expresses it into concrete plastic shapes seem to belong to the same environment and it is not the question of mere imitation of each other. This environment was pregnant with a kind of unique synthesis of ideas and was capable of expressing this synthesis into various aspects of civilization with a marked degree of sophistication which can be described as urbane in character.

There are numerous examples in Kalidasa which betray his scholastic background and the depth of his profound knowledge which seems to be deeply rooted in the traditional values. Sri Aurobindo while interpreting his notions of classical art and literature has described these traditional values as the "spiritual aesthetic truth of Indian culture".¹³

The concepts of '*Kama*' and '*Apsaras*' predominate all the works of Kalidasa. This concept has its Vedic parallel and in the *Kathopanishad* it has been described as :-

ये ये कामा दुर्लभा मर्त्यलोके
सर्वान् कामोश्छन्दतः प्रार्थयस्व ।
इमा रामाः सरथाः सतूर्या
न हीदृशा लम्भनीया मनुष्यैः ॥¹⁴ [1.1.25]

According to Coomaraswamy¹⁵ the symbology of "loss and recovery of memory" as employed by Kalidasa in his famous drama *Abhigyanashakuntalam* bears close resemblance to the 'forgetfulness' and 'recognition' of Jivatma about his actual form i.e. Paramatma. This process has been described in the Mundaka Upanishad as follows :

समाने वृक्षे पुरुषो निमग्नो
अनीशया शोचति मुह्यमानः ।
जुष्टं यदा पश्यति अन्यमीशम्
अस्य महिमानमिति वीतशोकः ॥¹⁶ [3.1.2]

It seems that in the garb of a love story the substance or 'Kthya' of *Abhigyanashakuntalam* is nothing but this desire of knowing one's own self in the motif of pure and divine love of Dushyant and Shakuntala.

The concepts of 'Karma', 'Gyan', 'Bhakti', 'Yoga', etc. and their manifestations in various forms has been the ideal of Kalidasa. While describing the meditation (Samadhi) of Lord Shiva in Kumarsambhavam, Kalidasa has described the various features of Samadhi. These features bear a close resemblance to the Buddha and Shiva images of Gupta period. He has described Shiva's motionless pupils, still eye-lashes and vision directed towards the tip of the nose. He also mentions his physical condition to be as peaceful as a burning lamp without the movement of air :

किञ्चित्प्रकाशस्तिमितो यत्तारैर्भूविक्रियायां विरतप्रसङ्गैः ।

नेत्रैरविस्पन्दितपक्ष्ममालैर्लक्ष्यीकृतघ्राणमधोमयूखैः । ।

अन्तश्चरणां मरुतां निरोधान्निर्वात निष्कम्पमिव प्रदीपम् । । [3.47.48]

According to V.S Agrawal and Nihar Ranjan Ray those characteristics are equally appropriate in describing the Buddha images of Gupta period besides various Shiva images.¹⁷ There are several examples in *Upanishadas*¹⁸ where meditation and control over one's physical and mental faculties are hinted at. For example it is said in the *Kathopanishada* that :

यच्छेद्वाङ्मनसी प्राज्ञस्तहाच्छेज्ज्ञान आत्मनि ।

ज्ञानमात्मनि महति निमच्छेत्तहाच्छेच्छान्त आत्मनि । । [1.3.13]

तां योगमिति मन्यन्ते स्थिरामिन्द्रियधारणाम् ।

अप्रमत्तस्तदा भवति योगो हि प्रभवाप्ययौ । । [2.3.11]

It becomes clear from the above deliberations that to describe Kalidasa only in terms of such materialistic themes as love between opposite sexes is a gross injustice done to his genius. Here I wish to extensively quote Sri Aurobindo on the actual character of Kalidasa and his works. Sri Aurobindo has tried to bring forth the stylistic difference between Vedic-Puranic traditions and Kalidasa by suggesting that

the theme remains the same in both the cases. Only style or way of expression gets changed. Kalidasa has borrowed his themes from the Epic-Puranic traditions but—"the alteration in the literary speech corresponds, however, apart from all inducing circumstances, to a great change in the centre of mentality of the culture. It is still and always spiritual, philosophical, religious, ethical but the inner austere things seem to drawback a little and the exterior powers that stand out in front are the curious intellect, the aesthetic, urbanely active, sense of life The speech of Kalidasa is an accomplished art, an intellectual and aesthetic creation consummate, deliberate, finely ornate, carved like a statue, coloured like a painting, not yet artificial, though there is a matery artifice and device, but still a careful work of art laboured by the intelligence"¹⁹

In fact Kalidasa seems to be a scholar and observer who was possessed of all the knowledge and learning of his time i. e. Gupta period. His knowledge was deeply rooted to the religio-spiritual background based upon the tradition of the Vedas, Epics and Puranas. But basically he was a poet who was capable of subduing his traits and keen sense of observations to the demands of his craft i. e. poetry. According to Hegelian aesthetics the content and style of any art should be complementary to each other. He has described 'man' to be the highest manifestation of the absolute. His notion of the classical art revolves around the 'human body' as the instrument of revealing god.²⁰ But art does not simply reveal god. It is one of the ways in which god reveals and actualize, himself in sensory vision. This vision seems to be the focal point of the Vedic tradition as well as to be the content of both Kalidasa and Gupta art-idiom.

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APPRAISAL OF SRAVASTI AS A BUDDHIST CENTRE OF ART

—Meera Sharma*

Ancient Sravasti, i.e., Sahet-Mahet, is situated on the right bank of the river Rapti, at the border of districts Gonda and Bahraich.¹ It was one of the eight great places related to Buddha's life events. It has also been known as political as well as commercial centre.² Sravasti was the capital of Uttara Kosala.³ It was also the abode of eminent traders like Anathapindik.⁴ Probably this was the reason that Buddha had chosen the place for popularising his teachings.

The Buddhist Sangha obtained support from the royal as well as traders during the Buddha's time, as is evidenced by Buddhist literature.⁵ Buddha had spent considerable part of his life at this place and preached the Buddhist doctrines.⁶

There is ample evidence that Sravasti continued to be a place of religious importance for a long time there after. Buddha images,⁷ seals and sealings and inscriptions⁸ found from this place highlight its religious importance during the Kushana period. However, these activities declined during the subsequent period. Yet, some religious activities have been reported at this place by Chinese travellers.⁹ The above assumption finds support from the artefacts of religious value like seals/sealings¹⁰ from this place. However, some terracotta plaques of the Gupta period show that some Brahmanical existence was still there.¹¹

Later on, the Buddhist religious activities again spurted during the early Medieval period at this place, which is established by the considerable number of artefacts and structural remains etc.¹² Inscriptional record of Vidyadhara (1119) the minister of Madanpal¹³ and Govindchandra¹⁴ confirm this view.

In spite of its religious importance and being supported

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by the affluent class of society, Sravasti could never develop as a centre of Buddhist art. When we compare the sculptural treasure of Sravasti with other places like Mathura, Kausambi, Sarnath, etc., we find that these are meagre. Moreover, these images do not appear to have been sculptured locally. This paradox needs to be analysed. The images found from Sravasti may be a good source of information in this regard.

Images belonging to Kushana period have been carved out in Mathura style from Sikri sand stone. This indicates their import from Sikri area as is also suggested by scholars. For example, the Bodhisattva image, found from the ruins of Kosambakuti resembles the Bala Bhikshu's image of Sarnath. It would not be unlikely that it was also brought from Mathura and installed at Sravasti like that of Sarnath. A pedestal of standing image of Buddha¹⁶ is also executed in red sand stone and was gifted by a *bhikshuni* named Raji.

The lower portion of a seated Buddha image¹⁷ of red sand stone is kept in the Lucknow Museum. It has two inscriptions of different periods. The first inscription of Kushana script is noteworthy, for, it mentions that it was sculptured by a Mathura sculptor at the instance of Sivamitra. The second inscription also is of Buddhist creed in characters of the 9th or 10th century A.D. On stylistic basis it is again similar to that of Mathura. The waist-band is decorated with vertical lines and clothes are transparent. The side of the foot is decorated with three jewels and a *swastika* as in a circle. The remnant of the left hand on the thigh indicates that its right hand was perhaps in the '*Abhaya Mudra*'.

Another seated image of Buddha was found from stupa No. 9 and is kept in the Lucknow Museum.¹⁸ Buddha, seated on grass mattress is made of buff coloured sand stone. Though this is broken and disfigured, the shutter like folds of the '*sanghati*' are akin to those of Mathura style. On stylistic ground this image can be placed in Kushana-Gupta phase, which has a mix of Kushana characteristics with some new elements such as *dakshinavarta* curls of hairs. According to the inscription¹⁹ at its base, it was gifted by Sinhadeva of Saket (Ayodhya).

Terracotta panels and reliefs mostly exhibiting the scenes of *Ramayana* and Krishna-Yasoda episode, have been found from the Kachchikuti, but stone sculptures belonging

to the Gupta period are negligible. A carved stone slab of red sand stone kept in the Lucknow Museum²⁰ depicts three events of Buddha's life. Subduing of Nalgiri elephant by the Buddha is carved in the centre. Victory over Maya is shown on the right, and on the left side is the scene of Buddha's descent from heaven. The drapery is transparent and plain as in Sarnath style. The halo of the main figure is decorated with flames. Buddhist creed in the character of 6th century A.D. is carved on the lower side. Although this image is made of red sand stone, its drapery is in Sarnath style and also exhibits events of Buddha's life on the same slab. These characteristics point out that it may have had some connection with Sarnath.

Sculptures of Buddha, Bodhisattva belonging to the early medieval period have been found in comparatively good numbers. These figures are mostly small in size and are in Pala style. Different types of stone,²¹ viz., grey sand stone, basalt, granite, schist and Sikri sand stone have been used to sculpt them.

An analysis of these artefacts shows that although Sravasti continued to remain an important Buddhist religious centre upto 12th century A.D., it never developed into an art centre. The images continued to be imported from other places in all periods. The main reason behind this phenomenon was the geographic situation of Sravasti, which is situated in plains and the nearest source of stone is the hills in Nepal. Though it was a significant religious and trade centre, it was very arduous to carry stone slabs from distant hills during those times. Images, therefore, must have been imported from other places to fulfill the religious requirements. The carved terracotta reliefs of Gupta period do not represent any separate art style. In fact, they are evidence of non-availability of stone in the vicinity. The buff coloured sand stone image of Buddha shows close affinity with Mathura style but it was not a regular stone for Mathura atelier. Therefore, it may be suggested that it could have been brought either from Mathura or it was an imitation of Mathura, sculpted at any other place and brought from there, viz., Kausambi, when image sculpting started there on the lines of Mathura style. However, the red sand stone images and other artefacts were surely imported from Mathura. History provides us some

important supporting clues. A large number of images were required during the Kushana period as image worship was gaining popularity among the Buddhists under the protection of Sarvastivadins. Mathura had already established itself as an art centre at that time. Hence, images were exported from there. Sravasti was also one of the importers.

Though, there were some activities related to Buddhism during the Gupta period also, terracotta plaques of Brahmanical religion and accounts of Chinese pilgrims indicate towards decline of Buddhism. Images, therefore, were not imported from anywhere. Moreover, the decline of city may also be one of the reasons for this.

During the early medieval period when most of the art centres were in decline, Bihar became the important centre of Buddhist art. Hence, it would be obvious to import images from Bihar, viz., Gaya, Kurkihar, etc. The sculptures in Pala style and made of Gaya stone, schist, etc., very well support this hypothesis. Since most of these images are small in size (approximately 6" to 2'), it would have been easy for worshippers as well as pilgrims to bring and install them in temples of Sravasti.

Thus the main factors responsible for the lack of development of Sravasti as a Buddhist art centre were non-availability of stone as a source material for sculpture, decline of city as well as Buddhist monastic settlements after the Kushana period, and lack of support from political, and a sharp fall in the religious endowments by Buddhist community. Terracottas related to Buddhism,²² however, show that people fulfilled their religious needs with them which were comparatively cheaper.

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THE CONCEPT OF BRAHMINHOOD IN VAJRASŪCĪ

—Ramayan Prasad Dwivedi*

Aśvaghoṣa, the most outstanding personality of the Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, is a distinguished poet, teacher and philosopher. This is borne out by the volume and variety of his works.

Vajrasūcī is one of his important works, though it is a very small text, yet it is an impressive treatise in terms of its subject-matter and its logical stand-point. It deals with the caste-system prevalent in India for long ago. Aśvaghoṣa has exposed this rotten system through Vajrasūcī by quoting instances from even the Vedas, the epics, the upaniṣads and the smritis as well and has concluded that infact, there are no four caste, but a class and that is of humanity.

The Vajrasūcī, after salutation to Manjughoṣa, begins with these words—Having paid homage to the (spiritual) teacher of the universe (Manjughoṣa), by mind, speech and body, I Aśvaghoṣa write Vajrasūcī according to scripture. The Vedas, the smritis and the speeches conformable to duty (dharma) and interest are the authorities. The person, who does not accept these authorities as authority, who will regard the speeches of the person as authority.¹

After this, Aśvaghoṣa puts forth the following questions before Brahmins, who were conceded the highest of all the castes in the society—who is a Brahmin ? Is the soul (jīva) Brahmin or body (śarīra) ? Is a man Brahmin by birth (jāti) or by knowledge (jñāna) or by conduct (ācāra) ? Is he Brahmin by action or by (study of) Vedas ?

All these questions have been answered by the author himself one by one, with apt quotations from the scriptures and it has been shown that the soul (jīva) can not be a Brahmin, as according to Veda, the soul comes into different existences,

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as gods, beasts, birds, etc. Sun and Moon, in some births were beasts and Indra was also a beast. Thus, gods become beasts and the beasts become gods. Hence, according to the evidence of Vedas Brahmin is not Brahmin according to (nature of) soul.²

Answering the next question, the author says that a man cannot be a brahmin by birth. In support of this contention, he has quoted the example of sages like Achala, Agastya, Kapil, Kausika, Vashistha, Vyasa and so on, who were, though, not Brahmins by birth, yet have been regarded as Brahmins; because of their specialities. In this connection authorities have been quoted from the old Sanskrit Literature.³

In this context, if it is said that the mother may not be a brahmin, but if the father is a Brahmin, the offsprings would become Brahmins. But the Brahmins, perhaps, in this case, will never be ready to accept them as Brahmins.

Moreover, according to Manu a Brahmin degrades from the Brahminhood and becomes Śūdra, if he sells lac, meat, milk, salt, etc.⁴ The question arises how a Brahmin in his life can change, if he is a Brahmin by birth? It is possible that he becomes a bad Brahmin due to his bad actions, but he cannot be changed from Brahmin to other caste. Does an evil {*dusta*} horse change to a pig, because of his evil action? No. Therefore, Brahminhood by birth is baseless.

Now, if one accepts that the body is Brahmin; this too is not possible, because of the fact that all the four castes have been created by the body of the same Brahman {the creature of the universe}.⁵ As for example we cannot make any distinction between the fruits of jack {*Ponaza*} or fig (*Udumbera*), which grow from the different parts of the same tree. In the same way, there is no distinction of castes, which are born of the same body of Brahman. Again, if one says that the body is Brahmin, the god of fire (*Agni Deo*) commits Brahmahatya (killing of a Brahmin) in the funeral ceremony and so do the heirs and relatives of the deceased Brahmin and they too are guilty of commitment of the same offence. But it is not so, as no body with sense can change them with killing of the Brahmin by burning his body.

The attainment of Brahminhood by knowledge is also not probable, because all those with knowledge, would become Brahmins.⁶ But this is not acceptable to Brahmins. There

have been many Śūdras wellversed in the Vedas and in the various branches of learning (Mimāṃsā, Vyākarna, Astronomy etc.), but they are not accepted as Brahmin by the Brahmins.

One cannot be a Brahmin by his profession (Karma),⁷ as in other castes also there are such persons, who are engaged in the traditional profession of a Brahmin (such as study, teaching, sacrifices etc.).

If a man is a Brahmin due to his mastery over the Vedas, why not Ravana, who was well-versed in all the Vedas was regarded as a Brahmin ? At Lanka in every family of demons the Vedas were actually studied and taught, but the inhabitants of Lanka did not become Brahmins simply by reciting the Vedas.⁸

Even on the basis of good conduct also a person cannot be regarded as Brahmin, for in that case śūdras and persons belonging to low castes with good conduct could be called Brahmins. But the Brahmins do not accept this view.

Now, on the basis of the above discussion it is not clear that the Brahminhood cannot be acquired by knowledge of scriptures, by performing certain ceremonies, by birth, by the mastery over the Vedas, by profession or by good conduct.⁹

Thus the question, what is Brahminhood ?, remains to be satisfactorily answered. Then how can Brahminhood can be attained ? It is said the Brahminhood is abstinence from all sins and is as white (dhavala) as the flower of the Kunda and the Moon. It is acquired by following and performing certain vows, austerity, precept, charity, control of senses, concentration of mind and so on.¹⁰ A person is recognised by the gods (devās), as a Brahmin, who is free from selfishness, from egoism, from attachment, from ill-will, lust and hatred. Indeed, Brahminhood is truth, austerity, control over all the sins and compassion towards all the sentient beings.¹¹ Shukracharya has also said that it is not birth, but the distinguishing attributes that are the essentials of Brahminhood. If a cāṇḍāla possesses good qualities, he may be recognised as Brahmin by the gods,¹² and if a Brahmin, who lacks good qualities can be called a śūdra. Giving the characteristics of a Brahmin, the author has quoted the scriptures. The Brahminhood is a high ideal, where life is dedicated to the law (dharma) and where one lives for others. In fact, he is

a Brahmin, who practices tolerance day and night. Thus the essential attributes of a Brahmin is selflessness, non-violence, abstinence from attachment to lust, hatred from actions, which are not approved by the scriptures. Hence, in short tolerance, compassion, control over the senses, charity, truthfulness, purity, awareness (smṛiti), wisdom, learning and belief in the other world and in God are the distinguishing features of a Brahmin.¹³

Besides, according to the text the cāndāla is one, who is bereft of truthfulness, austerity, control over the senses and compassion.¹⁴

At the end of the text Āśvaghoṣa says—I have spoken the truth to remove the ignorance (moha) of those Brahmins (dvija), who lack judgement. Let good men accept it, if it is reasonable and reject (it) if it is not reasonable.

In ancient times there was no caste-system, but classes were there. The division of four classes was established on the basis of the distinction of functions and professions. The Gita too supports this idea. Lord Krishna says—'*Cāturvarṇa mayā sṛiṣṭam guṇa karma vibhāgasah*'—the four classes have been made according to division of quality and action.¹⁵

Today the caste-system has been proved a great social evil, the consequences of which are seen everywhere. This is a curse for humanity. Different castes and sub-castes are coming up and there is mutual hatred and mistrust among them. The demand of the division of the different parts of the country on the basis of caste, colour, sect, religion etc. is one of its evil results.

The message of Vajrasūci that a person should be judged on the basis of his merits and good actions and not on the basis of caste, creed and colour, is very significant and relevant today, when we are to face with the forces of disintegration in our society.

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STUDIES IN EPIGRAPHY

—T.P. Verma*

Epigraphy is one of the most important sources for writing Indian History. Epigraphs are contemporary documents which reach us without alterations or modifications. It is this quality which gives them the status of most authentic evidence. When the historian uses his source in support of his arguments, it becomes evidence. There is another aspect of these epigraphs which leads us to the study of scripts. As these are contemporary writings we can trace in them the development of script during different periods, and, this branch of knowledge is called palaeography. Thus, when we study epigraphs for tracing the history it comes under epigraphy ; but when these are used to trace the development of scripts it is called palaeography. But in Europe and the West there is a different notion about these branches of knowledge. Devid Deringer observes that "Epigraphy,is the study which deals principally with ancient inscriptions cut, engraved or moulded on such materials as stone, metal and clay. Such study includes the problems of decipherment and interpretation. Palaeography,..... deals principally with writing which is painted or traced on the soft materials such as paper, parchment, papyrus, linen and vax, using such tools as stylus, brush, reed, or pen" (1962 : 20). But in India, the established tradition of study of more than one and a half centuries distinguishes epigraphy with palaeography as we have stated above.

An Epigraph from Mexico :

Epigraphs reveal such aspects of India's history which are little known or almost unknown from any other source. India's contribution to the world civilization is well known

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and widely recognised. But this is mostly based on indirect references from linguistic or other cultural traditions found in those parts of the world. But there are hundreds of inscriptions from South-East Asian countries which speak of India's contact with the people of those countries. The fragmentary stone inscription of Mahanavika Budhagupta, who was the resident of Raktamritika (Rangamati in West Bengal), is well known to the scholars since long. This epigraph was found from the Northern District of Wellesley province of Malaya peninsula, and belongs to 4th-5th century A.D. (Sircar, D.C. 1965a : 497). But a recently discovered epigraph from Mexico tells us about another Mahanvika Vasalun, who reached Mexico in July 923 A.D. in a cargo ship, explored the area and wished to name it *Laki Bumi* (Laksha Bhumi) and inscribed it in Kavi writing. The inscription reads as follows:

L.1 वर्ष तिथ ८४५ (अ)णलहि मण यटथ वनिज

L.2 नव पविचरेति वेल महानविक होति वणलुन

L.3 ववकयि टन लकिबुमि छेदत लेक कवि

This epigraph was found engraved on a stone tablet in Tihasuco in the Yukten province in Mexico, and was discovered by Dr. Berry Fell, president of Epigraphical Society, San Diego, California, U.S.A. He sent it to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Ex-Government Epigraphist of India. A report of it was published in *The Hindu* on 27th September, 1985. This undoubtedly proves earlier assertions that some Mexican civilizations had Hindu influence on them.

Epigraphs from West Asia and Egypt :

Similarly several West Asian and Egyptian inscriptions also speak about the ancient Indian contact with the people and civilizations of this area about 1500 B.C. and even earlier. The Boghazkoi inscription is well known since about the first decade of this century. Since then hundreds of inscriptions have come to light from Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Israel, etc. written in hieroglyphic and cuneiform scripts and are in Akkadian, Hurrian, Kassite and Hitti languages. Their study and interpretations reveal that during the third, second and even first millennium B.C. the people of Indian origin not simply

inhabited that area but were also politically and militarily important.

Sanskrit was a well known language in that area and a treatise on horse training, found from Boghazkoi archives, is in Sanskrit language written by one Kikuli, who was a Mitanni subject and had defeated the Hittis. These Indians invented technique of smelting iron and utilised its potential value. Michael Grant says that 'This was a mighty secret weapon comparable in its days to the Atomic Bomb'.

The Boghazkoi document speaks of only about the Mittanni kings Mattiwaz and his father Tusharatta (Dasharatha). But now we have almost a complete list of the kings of this dynasty. The founder of this powerful dynasty in 16th century B.C. was king Kirta. His successors were Shattruhana I, Parattama, Shaushatar, Artatama, Shattruhana II, Tusharatta and Mattiwaz (also called Kurtiwaza). The last one concluded the famous Boghazkoi Treaty with Hittite king Suppiluliuma invoking the vedic gods Indra, Mitra, Varuna and Nasatya along with many others. His father Tusharatta had relations with Egyptian king Amenhotep III, and in a letter (c. 1400 B.C. vide Tell-el-Amarna archives) to the latter he informs that "With the grace of my God Raman, I have captured and killed my rebel brother Artashuma (or Artatama)." (Petric Flinders, *A History of Egypt*, Vol. II : 262-63). This Rama or Raman is the hero of Ramayana. The chronological development of the deity seems to be Rama (Indian) - Raman (Mittanian) - Rahman (Semetic) in that order (*Puratattva*, Vol. 8 : 149). From these inscriptions of the Mittanis, Nuzi and Khatat (Hittites) atleast 81 Indian proper names (13 from Mitannis, 23 from Nuzi and 45 from Syrian documents) are known (*ibid.*) In these documents apart from kings, names of governors, gods and some lady magistrates have also come to light. (see *Puratattva*, vol. 10 : 66-67). The Harappan seals found from Ur, Kish, Lagash, Umma from the period, atleast of Sargon of Akkad, who ruled in 2371-2316 B.C. prove India's contact with these regions. With the names of vedic gods like Mitra, Nasatya, Varuna, Indra, etc. and the depiction of the 'cult of Pillars' as axis of the universe on seals, which was definitely inspired by the Yupa cult of the vedic sacrifices, it can naturally be inferred that the vedic people moved from India to West Asia and became very important element in the population

of that area. Not only this, the princesses of these kings who were married to the kings of Egypt, changed the religious thoughts of their royal husbands also. It is on account of such influence that the Egyptian king Amenhotep IV ordered that the name of the earlier Egyptian god Amun be erased from throughout the country; and his place be given to Aton, the Sun. He himself changed his name to Akhenaton and shifted his capital to Amerna. There are many more aspects of ancient Indian civilization about which these epigraphs give volumes of informations (see Tripathi, D.N. 1988 : 55-65). But the Indian scholars have seldom paid their attention to these. My contention in giving a brief account of these West Asian documents is to draw the attention of Indian scholars and thereby educational institutions to include this as a subject in epigraphic studies.

Indian Epigraphy :

Now coming to the Indian Epigraphy we must admit that it is not as old as the West Asian documents. The writings on Harappan seals, which are contemporary to these epigraphs, have not yet been deciphered. Therefore, we exclude them from the periphery of our discussion. The earliest writings in the so-called Brahmi and Kharoshthi inscriptions belong to the period of Asoka, who in the middle of 3rd century B.C. started the tradition of writing his religious edicts on stone. After him the tradition of writing in these scripts was on decline for a short period. The edicts of Asoka were royal proclamations and teachings. But soon after his death, there is a definite decline in the number of inscriptions. Very soon the script of Asoka, which we now call Brahmi, gained gradual popularity. In this popularity the Indian Greek (Indo-Greek) invaders played important role. They issued coins, first with Greek legends, and then with Kharoshthi and Brahmi legends. This inspired the local kingdoms of the north-west to issue their own currency with legends referring to their kings, kingdoms and tribes. By this time the mighty Mauryan empire had started disintegrating. The Indian Greek rulers followed by the Sakas, Pahlavas and Kushanas, issued inscriptions, and their subjects also followed the suit. In other parts of India, the kings and the distinguished persons from among the public, started

the tradition of writing on different occasions, and, this was continued in later periods also. Thus, India became one of the richest country as regards the epigraphs including legends on coins and seals and sealings.

Merits and Demerits of Epigraphic Evidence :

As we have stated in our preamble the epigraphs are one of the most important sources for the reconstruction of Indian history. They give informations which are not available from any other source. Sometimes they supplement the historical informations which we know from literature and traditions. As these epigraphs are contemporary documents they give informations about their times and, sometimes they also give hints to the past events and earlier generations of kings. They are free from variant readings and interpolations because they come to us as they were originally written or engraved. This is in contrast with the literary books and manuscripts which are copied from time to time and sometimes copier adds some more material in the original writings which are his own contribution but never tells us that these portions were added by him. Many inscriptions are dated. The earlier Indian kings used their regnal years to indicate the date of the writings. But sometimes in the late centuries before Christ, the tradition of giving dates in eras started. Thus eras like Vikram, Saka, Gupta, Kalchuri-Chedi, etc. came into being and these helped the historian to solve many knotty problems. But apart from these merits of epigraphs there are some loop-holes and demerits of the epigraphical evidences also which must be taken into consideration while using as evidences. Sometimes the historian laments that the informations given in the epigraphs are inadequate or misleading. He feels that these documents were written not for the use of the historians of 19th and 20th century but their purpose was something else. Therefore, while writing on the basis of epigraphical evidences we must keep it in mind that whatever we get from these epigraphs be utilized as such. Sometimes the writer of a *prasasti* highlights the achievements of his royal patron and gives ambiguous descriptions about his discomfatures. Sometimes the defeat of his patron is described in such a manner which can be interpreted as his victory

as well. And, very often the early medieval royal dynasties loved to fabricate prestigious genealogies of epic reput. Prof. D.C. Sircar has condemned such practices. Therefore, it is necessary that the epigraphic evidences be utilised with due caution and also by comparing the informations from other sources.

The Examples of Budhagupta :

The epigraphic evidences are very interesting when they are discovered and their interpretations are made. Sometimes epigraphs and coins, including seals and sealings, give informations bit by bit and reveal the hidden treasure of the past. Prof. D.C. Sircar (1965b) has given an interesting instance of the emergence of the imperial Gupta ruler Budhagupta. We will like to quote this example here. In 1838 an inscription from Eran, in the Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh, was discovered. It was dated in the Gupta year 165 corresponding to 484-85 A.D. This inscription states that Matrivishnu, ruler of Eran, was subordinate to Surasmi Chandra, who was the Viceroy of the king Budhagupta. The territory of Surasmi Chandra was between the rivers Kalindi (Yamuna) and Narmada. Thus it was thought that Budhagupta must have been a king of Malva region in 484-85 A.D. But in the year 1894 some silver coins were discovered which had the date 175, corresponding to 494-95 A.D. which reveal that Budhagupta, the king of Malva ruled for about ten years between 485 and 495 A.D. Then in 1914-15 two inscriptions belonging to the reign of Budhagupta were discovered from Sarnath which were dated in Gupta year 157 (476-77 A.D.). This not only extended the territories of the empire of the Budhagupta but also extended the duration of his reign from 10 to 18 years, i.e., from 477 to 495 A.D. As his empire included large parts of Uttar Pradesh also it was suspected that this king of Malva might have been a Gupta emperor. This expectation proved to be true when in 1920 two copper-plate inscriptions of Budhagupta were found from Damodarapur district of north Bengal. But, even up till this stage the historians were not definite about the exact position of Budhagupta in the imperial Gupta genealogy. This problem was solved in 1943 when a damaged clay seal of Budhagupta was

discovered from Nalanda in Bihar. The inscription on this seal informed that Budhagupta was the son of Purugupta, grandson of Kumargupta I Mahendraditya, great grandson of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya and great-great grandson of the mighty Samudragupta of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Thus, it took 105 years, from 1838 to 1943, to give a fairly complete account about the position of an ancient Indian monarch named Budhagupta. Prof. D.C. Sircar observed that "this gathering of information bit by bit is of absorbing interest to all investigators in the field of Indian historical research. The student of Indian history, who studied the Eran inscription in 1838, Budhagupta's coins in 1894, the Sarnath inscription in 1914-15, the Damodarpur plates in 1919-20 and the Nalanda seal in 1943 must have felt like some watcher of skies when a new planet swims into his ken".

The Sohgaura Bronze Plaque :

Now we wish to refer to the studies of some specific inscriptions and give interpretations which are the results of our recent researches. In this endeavour we will take up only a few inscriptions as examples. The first one is the Sohgaura bronze plaque which, on account of its content and palaeography must belong to the Mauryan period; specifically we can say that it should belong to the time of Asoka himself. This epigraph, in four lines was produced by casting method, exactly similar to cast coins. Since the very beginning there are some controvercies about reading of this inscription which is due to defects in casting. Sometimes *ta* is written as *ga*. It contains an order from the Mahamatras of Sravasti proclaiming the creation of two store-houses for the food grains to be utilised during the drought period. But as regards the identification of places of store houses, the scholars continue to recognise only one place, i.e., Bansgaon in Gorakhpur district. Actually these are two different places which are called *Silimate* and *Vasagame*. Scholars first took *Silimate* as an honorific adjective of the village name Bansgaon. We wish to asert that *Silimate* is the name of a certain village which is situated in the newly formed district of Siddharthnagar (old Basti district), U.P., on the left side of the road going from Bansi to Sohratgarh near the Sanai crossing. I have personally visited the place

which is at present called Sirvant (or Srimant) and, there are atleast two narrow wells with Mauryan bricks. At present there is no visible ruins in the village, but it seems that the village is situated on an ancient mound. About five to six kilometers north of this village is situated the village Kanava which is now a railway station called Chilhia on Gorakhpur-Gonda loop line. This place I have identified with the place of Konak Muni Buddha which was mentioned by Yuan Chang. Still north, about more than 15 kilometers on the Nepal side of the border is the village Nigliva where lies the Asokan pillar mentioning the stupa of Konak Muni which Asoka doubled in size in the 14th year of his reign. Lumbini is about 25 kilometers from this place, and, on the Indian side of the border is Piprahwa which has now been definitely identified with ancient Kapilvastu, the ancient capital of the Sakyas, by K.M. Srivastava (1975 : 100-110). Thus Silimate or Sirvant is the name of a village where one of the store houses was established. As regards two other place names in this epigraph there is no controversy about the identification of Sravasti or Sahet-Mahet. But nothing is known about the Manavasiti Kada. Kada is used for *Kata* or *Kataka* (i.e. camp) from where the Mahamatras of Sravasti issued this order. I have identified Manavasiti with Bansi, which is a Tehsil place in the newly formed district of Siddharthnagar. This place is also situated on ancient ruins on the right bank of Rapti, on which Sravasti is also situated. About a century ago the river Rapti used to flow to the south of present Bansi township which is now called Budhi Rapti, and, flows only during rainy season. To the south of present Bansi township there are several spots from where many antiquities have been found. Now Bansi occupies a place in the middle of the highway from Bansaon to Sirvant, thus it is not unlikely that Bansi might have been a fairly important place during Mauryan period where the Mahamatras of the Mauryan empire could hold their camp.

The Piprahwa Inscription :

The next inscription which we want to take up is the Piprahwa vase inscription found in 1898 by Mr. Peppe, the British Jamindar of Birdpur near Piprahwa in the old Basti district. In 1972 Shri K.M. Srivastava (*ibid.*), of the Archaeological

Survey of India conducted excavations on this site and below the present stupa he found some more relics in pots. In these earthen pots some ashes and human bones were deposited. The size and shape of these pots was like those found by Peppe in the last century. Shri Srivastava claims that the relics found by him were the original relics of the Buddha. This is to be noted that one of the pots found by Peppe has an inscription which states that 'these relics of Buddha were deposited by one Sukiti and his brothers, sisters and wives. Thus there can be no doubt that the relics found by Peppe were also those of the Buddha himself. But the question is how to reconcile with the two layers of deposits of the relics of the same great man with a gap of centuries. We have stipulated the situation like this. It is well known from the Mahaparinibbana Sutta that after the nirvana of the Buddha there arose a dispute about the possession of his relics. There were atleast eight claimants who were on the verge of fighting. At this stage a wise Brahmana suggested the division of relics into eight parts to be given to each claimant who could built stupas of their own on them. As a result the Sakyas also got their share which they distributed among themselves. Some of the influential Sakyas decided to build a stupa at Kapilvastu but some families preferred to keep their shares for worship in home. Later on, the cult of Buddha became so popular that the devotees from distant places started visiting the stupas at Kapilvastu. In the end of the third century B.C. Asoka came to the Mauryan throne and after the war of the Kalinga his heart changed. He was converted to Buddhism. The tradition says that he opened the original stupas and distributed the relics to construct 84,000 stupas. But it seems that he did not touch the stupa of Kapilvastu which was the original homes of the Sakya Muni Buddha. But his efforts were admired by the Sakyas and they decided to repair the original stupa which must have dilapidated during past centuries. They also did not disturb the original deposit, but those, who had decided to retain their shares of relics of the Buddha in their family possessions, decided to deposit in the same stupa. Thus in the time of Asoka the stupa of Kapilvastu was repaired and almost every Sakya family enthusiastically took part in it. This is evident from the hundreds of tiny objects, deposited in a huge stone box,

which were found by Peppe in 1898. The family of Sukiti also parted with their traditional possessions of relics and someone scratched the inscription on it. It is very likely that when in the 26th year of his reign Asoka came to Lumbini on pilgrimage he must have paid his homage to the stupa of Kapilvastu also. Further it can be imagined that his visit inspired the Sakyas to repair and enlarge the original stupa of the Buddha.

Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela :

Now we shall take up the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. This is one of the most controversial and widely discussed epigraphs ever found in the Indian sub-continent. Some parts of it are so damaged that variant readings and many explanations have been offered by scholars. As such the date of Kharavela has been fixed from early 2nd century B.C. to late 1st century B.C. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal, R.D. Banerjee, H. Lüders, V.A. Smith, Sten Konow, etc., have advocated for the first part of 2nd century B.C. as the date of Kharavela. The second group of scholars H.C. Roychaudhury, R.C. Majumdar, D.C. Sircar, etc., have expressed their opinion that Kharavela flourished in the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C. These diverse opinions were held on the basis of statements of some dates mentioned in the inscription itself. The other basis is the mention of some contemporary kings. The inscription says that in the 2nd year of his reign without caring about Satakarni he sent an army in the western direction and threatened the township of Asiknagar on river Kanhavana. This shows that Satakarni I, who was the third king of the Satavahana dynasty, was an elder contemporary of Kharavela and was such a mighty king that he must have been taken into account by Kharavela before sending an army in the west. The other mention is that of Nandaraja, who about 300 years ago (*ti-vasasata*) excavated a canal in Tanasuliya. This canal was extended by Kharavela upto his capital Kalinga Nagari Khibira in the 5th year of his reign. This Nandaraja is again mentioned in 12th line with the accounts of his 12th year where Nandaraja is mentioned as king of Magadha. Dr.K.P. Jayaswal holds that this Nandaraja was king Nandivardhana of the Saisunaga dynasty who flourished

in about 458 B.C. But a majority of scholars do not accept this view and they hold that this Nandaraja must have been Mahapadmananda, who established Nanda dynasty in Magadha. This dynasty was destroyed by Chandragupta Maurya in about 321 B.C. I have identified this Nandaraja with the Mauryan king Asoka, who invaded Kalinga and subjugated it. (*Pragdhara* No. 6, 1995-96, pp. 185-88). The third name is that of a *Yonaraja* whose name is not clear in the epigraph; but it has been read by Jayaswal as *Dimita* identifying with *Dimitrius*, the Indian Greek ruler. In the inscription he is said to have fled with his army to Mathura when he heard the uprore of Kharavela's army approaching Magadha. Some scholars do not believe that this *yavanaraja* was *Dimitrius*. Dr. P.L. Gupta suggests that the name must be *Vimaka*, who can be equated with the Kusana king *Wima Kadphises* who reigned in the 1st century A.D. The fourth king mentioned by Kharavela is *Bahasatimita* of Magadha, who was attacked by him. We have no information about this king from other sources.

We are not in favour of earlier date of Kharavela. Rather he can be assigned in the first half of the first century A.D. Dating him in the second half of the first century B.C. appears somewhat prejudiced. The basis of this calculation appears to be the statement of the puranas who assigned 137 years to the Mauryas, 112 years for the Sungas and 45 years for the Kanvayanas; totaling to 294 years after which the first king of the Satavahana dynasty, *Simuks*, killed *Susaraman*, the last king of the Kanvayanas, and established his own dynasty. In this way, if we accept the date of the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 321 B.C. the date of *Simuk Satavahan* will be 27 B.C. The puranas say that he ruled for 23 years. After him his brother *Krishna* ruled for 18 years (some puranas give 10 years). He was succeeded by *Satakarni I*. Thus the date of this ruler will fall in first century A.D. But due to unknown reasons *H.C. Roy Choudhury* and *D.C. Sircar* etc. have fixed the date of *Simukas Satavahana* in 60 B.C. If we adhere to the chronology of the puranas we must put Kharavela in the first half of the first century A.D.; i.e., after 14 A.D. the date of the accession of *Satakarni I*.

There are some other evidences in the Hathigumpha inscription itself which have escaped the attention of scholars

so far. We venture to identify Tanasuliya of this inscription with Tosali which was the capital city of Kalinga during the time of Asoka. In his Separate Rock Edict Asoka addresses the *mahamatras* of Tosali. Here he must have conducted some works of public interest like digging of canals etc. for irrigation and drinking purposes. It was this canal which was further extended by Kharavela upto his newly founded capital Kalinga Nagari after about 300 years. Now if our identification of Tosali with Tanasuliya is correct we can identify Nandaraja of Magadh with Asoka (see *Pragdhara op.cit.*).

As we shall see all the Indian traditions accept Mauryas to be a branch of the Nandas; but the modern scholarship is sceptical about this. No Indian tradition ever speaks of Nanda kings having invaded Kalinga. If we accept the Mauryan to be a branch of the Nandas we can explain the statement of the Hathigumpha inscription as an historical event which took place in the time of Asoka.

We have a strong tradition in India which realises Mauryas with the Nandas. The famous *Mudra Rakshasa* written by Vishakhadatta mentions Chandragupta as *nandanvayah*, i.e. the scion of the Nanda family. Rakshasa, the minister of Nandas addresses Chandragupta as the son of his lord (*Mauryo=aso svami putrah*), and, even Chanakya tells Chandragupta that Rakshasa is his ancestral minister. At another place it is said that 'this man has destroyed his own father's family, i.e., *Nandakula*'. In the puranas it is said that 'after the Saisunagas sudras will rule the earth'. Ratnagarbha (18th century A.D.), the commentator on Visnupurana says that Chandragupta was the son of a wife of Nandaraja called Mura. Dhundhiraja (18 century A.D.), the commentator on *Mudra Rakshasa* says there were two wives of king Sarvarthasiddhi. The first Kshatriya wife was named Sunanda and second Vrishala wife was called Mura. Sunanda gave birth to nine sons who were known as Navanandas, while Mura gave birth to his son called Maurya, who had hundred sons. King Sarvathasiddhi appointed Maurya his commander-in-chief; but his nine sons killed ninety-nine sons; only Chandragupta was able to save himself. Two other writers, one named Mahadeva in his *Mudrarakshasakatha*, and the other Ravinartaka in his *Chanakyakatha* accept this

story of Dhundhiraja. Two other Kashmiri writers also give their versions about the Nanda origin of Chandragupta Maurya. These are Somadeva, the writer of *Brihatkathamajari*, and Kshemendra, the writer of *Katha Saritsagara*. Both flourished in the 11th century A.D. They narrate the story almost in the same way. There was a king named Purvananda who was the father of Chandragupta. In his (Purvananda's) body the soul of one Indra Dutta entered, and, then he was called Yogananda. The son of this Yogananda was killed by the *kritya* (the evil spirit) produced by Chanakya, and, Chandragupta was made the king. H.K. Deva and V.A. Smith accept Chandragupta as scion of the Nandas.

In this way there is a strong tradition in Indian literature that Chandragupta Maurya was a scion of the Nanda family. Thus there is no wonder if Kharavela mentions Asoka as Nandaraja of Magadh. Asoka was coronated in 269 B.C. and in the 8th year of his reign he invaded and conquered Kalinga. This means that Kalinga was conquered in about 261 B.C. and the mention of *ti-vasa-sata* should be taken as 300 years in round figures, not exact date which brings Kharvela's in the first century A.D.

The Sacred Rock of Hunza :

In 1979 Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani, Director of the Centre for the Study of the Civilization of Central Asia at Quaid-i-azam University, Islamabad, alongwith Prof. Karl Jettmar of South Asian Institute, University of Heidelberg, Federal Republic of Germany, visited the Karakorum Highway in the occupied Kashmir area. He happened to discover some boulders on the bank of river Hunza near its confluence with the Gilgit river. On these rocks he found several inscriptions engraved in Chinese, Kharoshthi, and Brahmi scripts. Apart from these inscriptions these rocks contain many figures of male ibexes alongwith some Buddhist and Saivite symbols. It is on account of these thousands of ibex carvings and Buddhist associations Dr. Dani named the place as Sacred Rocks of Hunza.

Kharoshthi Inscriptions :

There are atleast 57 inscriptions in Kharoshthi script

which have been read and documented. The names of atleast three Kushana emperors and some dates in the Kanishka era indicate that inscriptions were inscribed in the Kushana period. It is interesting to note that at one place there is a figure of a Kushana emperor alongwith his name. Dani describes it in the following words,

The eastern front shows, on its left, a small intche-like formation, where ibexes of different periods occupy the main lower space. To the left is difinitely earlier carving of jumping ibexes, now very dim, before another ibex, which has beaded horns and is walking to right. It is immediately below this ibex that a latter carving of standing man to front in typical Kushana dress of long robe, peaked cap, left hand at the west, and right hand extended slightly upward a figure that exactly corresponds with the type of the imperial Kushana personage on the coins from the time of Vima Kadphises. To his left and right are two ibexes with angular bent horns walking towards him. A very indistinct elephant with upraised trunk in saluation also appears on his left. This imperial portrait of the Kushana emperor is further highlighted by a marginal Khharoshthi inscription on the top, which reveals the namee of the second Kushana emperor, Vima Kadaphises, thus proving the figure can be difinitely attributed to him" (Dani 1985:9).

The inscription (Kharoshthi No. 17) indicating the figure reads'*Maharaja Uvimma/Kadhatphrisa...*' i.e., "the great king Uvimma Kadhatphrisa". The second emperor Kanishka is mentioned in the Kharoshthi inscription No. 9 which reads '(Gushana) *devasa Maharayasa....Kanishkasa Samghedana*', i.e., "gift in the monestry of the Lord of Kushana, the great king Kanishka". Here the title of *Gushanadeva* for Kanishka is some what curious but not altogether unexpected. In some other inscriptions the word *Gushana* is to be found in the sense of Kushana, for example in the Manikayala stone inscription of Maharaja Kanishka, the Dandanayaka Lala is said to be *Gushana Vamsavardhaka*' the scion of the Kushana race".

The third emperor Huvishka is also mentioned in two inscriptions (Nos. 8 & 10) but in none of them his full name is preserved. In inscription No. 10 only first letter of his name

Hu is to be found with the title *Ghushana-Maharaya*. Inscription No. 8 is dated in the year 34 and letters *Huv* are preserved along with the title *Maharaja Devaputra*. This date falls within the reign period of Huvishka.

The name of the fourth king Vasudeva is not preserved in any of the inscriptions but some inscriptions dated in the year 70 (No. 30), 83 (No. 34) and 91 (No. 21) are preserved and these dates prove that the area remained under the Kushana rule till the reign of Vasudeva. Apart from the above mentioned emperors the name of atleast 9 Kshatrapas and three Mahakshatrapas are also engraved which indicates that these officials had some or other associations with this place.

In these inscriptions a number of *Samanas* and *Mahasamanas* are to be found which shows that this place has had some holy association for the Buddhists also. In several inscriptions *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Samgha* are referred to, and some stupas are also carved on the rock.

Here it seems necessary to refer to the word *Sabatu* which is found in some of the inscriptions; for instance No. 3 reads *Sagharasa/ano Jitaseno/Sabatu*, and No. 24 reads *Buddha Vasu putra/Buddha Seno Sabatu*, etc. Discussing about the meaning of the word *sabatu* Dr. Dani observes that "this word occurs several times at Alam Bridge". Dr. Fussman equates that with Sanskrit *Samprati* and translates as "a ce moment". But this sense does not appear that true; from the context it should be taken as a verb. If so, it may be connected with the root *bhu* plus a prefix *som*. The verbal formation *tu* has been rightly observed by Dr. Fussman as peculiar too Burushaski. But it could also be taken for the original imperative suffix. Hence the correct Sanskrit original would be *sambhavatu*, meaning "may exist or live". Thus he translates the third inscription as 'May Jita (Chitra) sena, brother of Sangha Dasa live (long)'. But real word in Sanskrit must be *Sambhavatu* which is abbreviated as *Sabatu*. *Sam* is a benedictory word and it should be taken as a benediction; and thus the word should be translated as 'may it be benedictory (to all)'.

Brahmi inscriptions :

There are sixty inscriptions in Brahmi script which

on account of having the name of one Chandra Sri Deva Vikramaditya have created a sensation among the scholars. Many of them are tempted to identify this person with Chandragupta II Vikramaditya of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Prof. B.N. Mukherjee is one of them. He reads the dates given in some of these inscriptions as 103 and 104 of the Gupta era corresponding to 422-23 or 423-244 A.D. and observes that this was not an official Gupta inscription but was inscribed by "travellers and traders who moved through the routes from Kandhar and Suvastu on the one hand and the Kashmir valley on the other. The language of records (often incorrect Sanskrit) also does not indicate them as official Gupta documents". Even if we accept Mukherjee's reading of the dates these records will fall during the reign period of Kumargupta I, while Chandragupta II had died about a decade earlier.

Not only Chandra Vikramaditya but even the name of one Harishena has also been found engraved many times. This name is also associated with the imperial Guptas. The famous inscription of Allahabad of Samudragupta's time was composed by Harishen. But actually the date in these inscriptions which occur atleast in eight instances, has been read by Dani as 143. In one instance the date is given in words also. Therefore, there can be no doubt about the reading of the dates. Here it should be emphasized that almost all the inscriptions have been engraved in the same year whether dated or not. Prof. Dani is in difficulty while attributing this date to any definite era. He observes;

"The date can not be referred to Laukik era as has been done in the case of the Patolashahi rulers of Gilgit region, because the dates exceeds one centinum. It can not also be referred to Saka era, Vikrama era or Kanishka era because of palaeographical reasons. Out of the two other erras- Gupta era and Harsha era, the first is less likely although the Brahmi writing seen here is derived from the late Gupta character of the 5th century A.D. As we note from the vowel marks given in Brahmi No. 22 they appear to have been derived from the alphabet that was popular from the time of Maukharis and Harshavardhana, i.e., from the 7th century A.D. onwards.

However, it must be noted that the writing system does not necessarily follow the rules of evolution as we find in North India. This region being isolated, the writing once introduced, continued the same style for generations and probably by the same family members until new scribes arrived from the plains. It, therefore, seems that the Late Gupta script continued here for a long time until some changes were introduced by the scribes of the time of Harshavardhana. It is also likely that the title of Vikramaditya was carried over to this region from North India in imitation of the name of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya of the imperial Gupta dynasty. In the same fashion eras must have been carried here by the Sanskrit scribes from the same region. Taking all these points into consideration, I feel that the date given in these inscriptions should be attributed to Harsha era, beginning with A.D. 606. Hence the present date should be $606 + 143 = \text{A.D. } 749$ ". (Dani 1985:35).

Here Dani reaches the other extreme by bringing down the date of these inscriptions in the middle of 8th century A.D. His main argument is palaeographic consideration. Although he himself accepts that the characters of these inscriptions are derived from late Gupta characters of the 5th century A.D., his main argument is based on the long flourish of the medial *i* of *Sri* in the word *Sri Chandra* in Brahmi inscription No. 22. This he equates with the *o* medial of the Banskhera inscription of Harsha. Dani is a reputed scholar of Indian palaeography and it is difficult to understand how he confused this formation of *i* with Banskhera *o* formation. With a glance at the inscriptions engraved on sacred Rock of Hunza one can not fail to mark the fondness of the scribes for the flourishes whether in medials or in the main body of the letters. Although these letters normally bear the characteristic of the late Gupta alphabets one can find definite mark of the local style of scribes. Dr. Dani's argument that 'the writing system does not necessarily follow the rules of evolution as we found in North India' and that 'this writing once introduced, continued the same style for generations...., until new scribes arrived from the plains', does not impress because with these excuses the palaeography will have no meaning; and, one can twist the dating on this basis to any time of his convenience.

Thus the isolation theory of Dani is meaningless. Infact he had in his mind the Vikramaditya title of the Patola Shahi rulers of Gilgit and actually he had suggested that 'there is a great likelihood that he is related to the same line of rulers and hence his name Deva Sri Chandra Vikramaditya. If that is true, he may be the last of the line of these rulers and his date 143 is the latest we know so far'. But the palaeography again and again points towards the 5th century A.D., i.e., the late Gupta period. If we except this date to refer to the Gupta era we find that this falls in $(3119+143) = 462$ A.D.

Now we can recall that in the year 462 A.D. Skandagupta was ruling over the Northern India and this was a difficult period for the Gupta empire on account of the internal dissensions and foreign invasions of the Hunas. Gupta inscriptions tell us that Skandagupta defeated Hunas conclusively and strengthened his hold over the empire. He spent many sleepless nights thinking about the persons to be appointed as Governors of the troubled areas. This year 143 (A.D. 462) might have been of great importance for this region also because these inscriptions bear this date atleast in eight instances.

As regards the identification of this Chandra Vikramaditya we must take up the point in some detail. One should not have any difficulty in excepting the suggestion of Dani that 'The title Vikramaditya was carried over to this region from North India in imitation of the name of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya of the imperial Gupta dynasty'. But only this much can be accepted and one should not go as far as to identify this Chandra Vikramaditya with Chandragupta Vikramaditya of imperial Gupta dynasty as has been done by Prof. B.N. Mukherjee. But there is no doubt that this Chandra Vikramaditya reminds us of Chandra of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription in which he is said to have conquered Vahlik after crossing seven mouths of Sindhu. These inscriptions seem to prove this claim of the Mehrauli inscription and this Chandra Vikramaditya must be taken as a product of the mighty influence of that Gupta monarch.

In some inscriptions Chandra Vikramaditya is said to be victorious (...*Sri Vikramaditya Jayati Sri Chandra*) but he is simply referred without any regal titles. But there is one person named Kasyaps who is called *Maharaja Viranka*

Kasyapas Deva (Brahmi No. 23). This name again occurs as Sri Kasyapa in the inscription No. 6 & 21. In inscription No. 32 titles *Yuddha Vira* and *Rana Simha* are found, and according to Dani these are the titles of Kasyapa. Thus with the titles of *Maharaja Viranka*, *Yuddha Vira* and *Rana Simha*, Kasyapa must have been a very powerful person in this group. If we compare this man with Chandra Sri Deva Vikramaditya, who is devoid of any royal title, and again if we can free our mind from the illustrious glory attached to the word Vikramaditya, we can infer that this Chandra Vikramaditya was a personal name of some officer of Maharaja Kasyapa Deva. But as we have mentioned above the inscription No. 22 states about the victory of Sri Vikramaditya Sri Chandra and in the light of this statement we cannot be definite about the Kasyapa and Chandra Vikramaditya.

Like the word *Sabatu* in the Kharoshthi inscriptions, we find a word *Samprapta*, or *prapta* in Brahmi inscriptions which is difficult to explain. Talking about this word Dani takes it to mean "defeated". He says that "the word *Samprapta* appears to have been used in a technical sense". I take it to mean 'was occupied'. But this meaning appears to fluctuate between 'defeated' and 'have been defeated' in his own translations (Verma 1988"119-20). But this double meaning of this word is unconvincing, because on this basis Dani makes some persons of this group as conquerors and others defeated without distinction. Actually this word should be taken in the sense of establishing or donating (*cf. ibid.*).

Two Inscriptions from Mathura

The Meghera Well Stone Inscription of Yavanarajya year 160:

Recently, one stone inscription has been acquired in the Government Museum, Mathura. This stone is semi-circular like a rim and appears to have been put on the raised platform of some well. Now it is broken into two pieces. The inscription is engraved in three lines on the inner curved portion of the stone and that is why it is fairly preserved. The inscription reads as follows:

- L.1 यवन राजस्य षोडशोत्तरः वर्षं शते १०० (+) १० (+) ६ हेमन्त मासे
४ दिवसे ३० एताये पूर्वये
- L.2 ब्राह्मणस्य मैत्रेयस गोत्रस्य घोषदत्तपुत्रस्य सार्धवाहस्य वीरबलस्य मातुर
होगणिय उदपानि
- L.3 पुष्करिणी सहपुत्रेण वीरबलेन वधूये भागुरेये पौत्रेहि च शुरदत्तेन
ऋषभदेवेन वीरदेवेन च पुण्यं वर्धतु (॥)

Its translations should be as follows:

In the one hundred and 16th year of Yavanaraja on the 30th day of 4th month of Hemanta (season). On this above said date Hoganiya, the mother of Sarthavaha Virabala (who was) the son of Ghoshadatta a Brahmana of Maitreyagotra, (excavated) a well and a pond, for the increase of *punya* of (herself) alongwith her son Virabala, daughter-in-law Bhagureyi and grand sons Suradatta, Rshabhadeva and Viradeva.

The palaeography of this inscription belongs to post-Kshatrapa and pre-Kushana period. Among the vowels *u*, *ri* and *e* are used. In the second line the vowel *u* in the word *Udupani* has a rounded angle. *Ri* is like a cross the upper portions of which are beautifully bent. It is to be noted here that this letter *ri* is found here for the first time which has never been seen before. *E* is triangular in form and similar to the letter *va* among the consonents. *Gha* has a flat base, *cha* has beak to its left, rounded top *ta* is hanging with a traingular head mark, *da* has a double back and *na* has a bent back. The base of *pa* is flat like that of *sha*, *bha* has flourish in its left arm, *ma* has a triangular base with arms. *Ya* in all cases is tripartite type. In conjuncts also *ya* is always of tripartite type. This is a characteristic of pre-Kushana inscriptions. In the Sarnatha inscription of the year 3 of the time of Kanishka and in the Sravasti inscription both types of *ya* are found. Later on bipartite *ya* takes place of, and ousts the earlier tripartite *ya*. In the pre-Kushana inscriptions of Mathura, among which the inscriptions of the time of Sodasa are included, we find only tripartite *ya*, in conjuncts also. This palaeographic characteristic is a definite sign to determine

the date of the present inscription in the middle of the first century A.D. This inscription can not be taken to belong to the time of Sodasa, because in them some letter *a*, *ra*, *ka*, etc. have long flourishing verticals which are bent at the lower tip; but in the present inscription this tendency is not present. Therefore, it should belong to the middle of 1st century A.D.

The inscription itself mentions that it was engraved in the 116th year of the era of Yavanaraja. It is not possible to ascertain which Yavana is intended here; but as we have said, the palaeography indicates to its dating in the middle of 1st century A.D. This Yavanaraja cannot be identified with any Indo-Greek ruler. In Indian tradition *yavana* is a word which has been used for any foreign invader whether he may be, Indo-Greek, Saka, Pahlava or Kushana. But if we accept the Vikrama era to have referred in this inscription, which starts in 57 B.C., the present epigraph will fall in 59 A.D. Prof. D.C. Sircar and many others are of the opinion that the Vikrama era was started by the Pahalavas. Although we do not subscribe to this view of Sircar we must accept that this era of Yavanaraja refers to some era which started in the middle of 1st century B.C.

The inscription from Bajana :

Another inscription in two lines has been acquired by the Mathura Museum a few years ago which is engraved on a huge round stone base of a pillar. This inscription which was engraved in two lines around it, in the 33rd year of the reign of Huvishka, runs as follows:

- A. महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे ३३ हेमन्त मासे १ दिवसे २
एतस्य पूर्वये उपासकानं बुद्ध रक्षितनं भृतृणां सोम पुत्रणं बह्मणनं
उपवजस गोत्रेण तखशिलकन दन कुमकं स्वके विहारे तोयोगं अचर्य्यन
सर्वास्तिवादिनं परिग्रहे (I)
- B. अत्मनेविहारे पेक्षिततो माता पितृणां पूजार्थं दरकनं दरिकनं च दीर्घायूकतन
सर्व्वं सत्वनं हित सुखर्थं (II)

An English rendering of this epigraph is as follows:

"In the 33rd year of Maharaja Devaputra Huvishka,

in the month of Hemanta (season) on the 2nd day. On this above mentioned day the upasaka brothers Buddharakshita and Dharmarakshita, sons of Soma, Brahmanas of Upavana gotra, residents of Takshasila, donate a kumbhaka, or pillar-base, in their own Vihara (monestry) for the benefit of the Sarvastivadin acharyas.

"This donation in own Vihara is for the worship of ancestors and the long life of the sons and daughters and for the wellbeing and benefit of all creatures".

The palaeographic features of this inscription is not much different from those of the Kushana inscriptions. Almost all letters have trangular head-mark and *va* has a holo trangular head-mark.

The Ayodhya Epigraph :

Most recent discovery is the Ayodhya inscription of the Gahadavala period which was recovered from the debris of the demolished structure on 6th December, 1992. This 20 lines epigraph is engraved on a buff sandstone tablet of about 5ft. long and 2.25 ft. wide. The language is classical Sanskrit and script Nagari of 12th century A.D. At present it is kept under sealed cover in the Ayodhya Museum and no one is allowed to inspect it. But, however, Drs. S.P. Gupta and Sudha Mallaiya could take some photographs and video pictures of the epigraph at great risk soon after demolition. I, with the help of Dr. A.K. Singh, could decipher major part of it. In November 1996 I had an opportunity to see the epigraph under the orders of the Hon'ble High Court, Lucknow alongwith Prof. A.M. Shastri, Dr. Sudha Malaiya and Dr. D.P. Dube. Although the reading was improved but some more time is required to have a satisfactory reading.

Some very interesting informations have come up from the deciphered portions. This epigraph belongs to a feudatory of the Gahadvalas. His name is Nayachandra, who was the son of Alhana, and, perhaps the grandson of Salhakshana. His younger brother Ayushchandra, was the composer of this inscription. He can be identified with Nyachandra, the writer of *Rambhamanjari Nataka*. Thus both the sons of Alhana had literary genius. Here it is interesting to note that the Kanauli copper plate grant of Govindchandra, dated in Sam

1182, was composed by one Kithana, the son of Alhana.

श्रीवास्तव्य कुलोद्भूत कायस्थोल्लहण सूनुना ।

लिखितस्ताम्र पट्टोऽयं कीठेण नृपाजयति । ११५ । ।

The Sanskritised form of the name Kithana should be Krishnachandra. If we take Alhana of the Ayodhya inscription as identical with that of the Kamauli grant, we can deduce that he had three sons. And all of them had literary interest.

The inscription informs us that Nayachandra obtained the feudatory rulership of Saketa Mandala by the grace of Govindachandra, the guru of kings. But it appears that his ancestors were petty rulers in that area before this. He belonged to Srivastava (Kayastha) family. P. Carnegy (1896:17) mentions the tradition that 'Srivastava dynasty ruled over Ayodhya region. He states that 'it was probably against the Siribastam dynasty that Syad Salar made his ill-started advance into Oudh when in the earlier Mahomedan invasions, he and his army left their bones to bleach in the wilds of Baraich'. This appears to be confirmed by the present inscription.

The fourth line of this inscription perhaps refers to this Mohammadan invasion in early eleventh century. It mentions the disturbed position of Devakula and the idol of Janmabhumi and states that all the Kshatriyas had become lean in protecting it. Then the name of Sallakshana comes in the 6th line. The 7th line states that he had shown superhuman valour, and the 11th line informs that he was dead.

This Muslim invasion took place in about 1033 A.D. and their leader Salar Masud was killed on Sunday, 14th June of that year near Bahraich at the age of 19 years. *Mirat-i-Masudi* of Abdur Rahman Chisti gives a detailed story of this incident (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II 1867-77:513-549). Masud stayed at Satrakh (Saket or Ayodhya) and it is probable that he demolished the Janmabhumi temple of Hari Vishnu. He was defeated and killed by Sallakshana, whom Muslim historian call Rai Sahar Deva and whose name survives in legends as Raja Suhel Deva. The 15th line states that a large beautiful temple of Hari Vishnu was constructed at Ayodhya. It is not difficult to imagine that it had become necessary because of the demolition.

Here it should be noted that the name Govindachandra

appears in 13th line without any royal prefix. It seems that by that time he reigned only as crown prince on behalf of his father. Therefore, this epigraph can be dated before 1114 A.D., the accession year of Govindachandra. Thus the Vishnu Hari temple of Ayodhya, at Rama Janmabhumi site was built in the third generation of Sallakshana Deva, i.e., within 80 years of its demolition by Salar Masud, only to be demolished by Babar in 1528 A.D.

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Fragmentary Brick
Inscription From Ahichchhatra
- Dr. Om Prakash Lal Srivastava

1. [Ma] hārājño
2. ...[na] dhasya chayana

FRAGMENTARY BRICK INSCRIPTION FROM AHICHCHHATRA

—Om Prakash Lal Srivastava*

Ahichchhatra, the capital of northern Pañchala is a well known ancient site in tehsil Aonla, district Bareilly (Uttar Pradesh). In Gupta period Ahichchhatra was a bhukti, an administrative centre, as is known from a clay sealing¹ with the legend : '*Sri Ahichchhatra bhuktau Kumaramatyadhikaranasya*'. According to Bansakhara Copper plate inscription² this administrative position of the city was maintained in the reign of Harsha, also.

Being the capital and bhukti, as administrative centre, Ahichchhatra furnished many types of antiquities—pottery, terracottas, sculptures, beads, coins, seals and sealings, etc. A brick inscription found from Ahichchhatra is noticed here. It measures 23 x 19 x 11 cm. It is in the possession of Shri Rajiva Ravat, Nekapur, Bareilly.

The palaeography of the inscription belongs to circa 2nd century A.D. It contains two lines, but both are broken.

1. [*Ma*] *harajño*
2. ----[*na*] *dhasya Chayana*

This inscription does not supply any definite political information, but informs about the religious activities of a particular Maharaja whose name is still unknown.

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RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND POWER RELATIONS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

—Om Prakash*

One thing that intrigues any foreign observer in India, ancient or modern, is its religious phenomenon. It embraces anything and every thing from tribal animism and magical rites to belief system and rituals of highly developed cults. If there are traditional religions of general, regional and local kinds there are also religions which have or had their respective founders. Besides native religions there are also foreign religions. The whole country is not only littered with the relics and manuments of different religions but is virtually a veritable museum of all kinds of religions past and present. The hallmark of this religions phenomenon is undoubtedly its pluralism which is dichotomously believed to have ruled out fanaticism, begotry and persicution in this land. Historical discourse confirms this logical necessity and drives one to conceive India as a land in which religion did not play any role in deeply influencing power relations as it did in medieval Europe. as it did in medieval Europe. Yet, inspite of this pluralism and all sorts of interventions there is a continuity of tradition which is basically a religions tradition. But a corresponding continuity of power in its traditional political form is conspicuously absent which significantly shows that lack of religious tutelage did not ensure a stronger all-encompassing continuity of a secular state though very much excepted as a logical necessity entailed by religious freedom. This cast a shadow on the validity of the above so-called historically confirmed rational implication derived from the phenomenon of religious pluralism. This paper therefore seeks to show how far and in what manner religious phenomenon influenced power relations in ancient India in spites its pluralism. In

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view of the small canvass of this paper, this attempt, however, is bound to be far from exhaustive and complete. It signifies only a begining in this direction.

Need of a discursive approach to power

Studies of ancient Indian Power phenomenon have been largely model-bound. They were bussy in tracing in India the articulations of the power phenomenon in the West either for purpose of showing their rudimentary presence in the soil or national glorification. Following the Marxist model some of these studies are out to somehow *create* class in the Indian caste society. Did India have the rudiments of the properties of a nation constitutes a big debate. But then the hi-fi talk of emulating the west receives a fitting reply in the counter articulations of the model of segmentary state a grid of specification picked up from Tribal Africa by Southhall and imposed on India by Burton stein. The question of state formation is asked from the very high pedestal and one receives the answer that state did not emerge in India prior to 14th and 15th century.

The earlier attempts qualified only for primitive efforts at state formation. Vast gaps in source material and the tendency to assign primacy to all sorts of borrowed models rather than to the ground realities and continuities of social memory bedevil our attempt to understand ancient Indian power phenomenon. One side showing that ancient Indian power phenomenon is high enough to be understood in terms of the prevailing articulations of western power phenomenon, and the other side scornfully showing that ancient Indian experimentations in the domain of power had their proper place in the midst of tribal strivings in the direction. If the same Chola rulers look to one as Great Emperors of Glittering Byzantine Regality, the other characterises them as religious figureheads with no real authotity at their command.

All power relations are essentially social relations because any social relation when it starts being exploited as a built-in source of power becomes a power relation. Politically established relations, for example, those bet-

ween ruler and ruled in non-democratic politics and those of employer and employee, privileged and non-privileged set of citizens, judiciary and legislature, executive and judiciary and so on in democratic constitutional politics originate secondarily from the invisible and underground roots of power relations. The real structure and functioning of the articulate institution of power, called state, depends on the power relations on which it is based. Rise and fall of a political power are, therefore, events and not manifestations of an ongoing process of state formation. Power relations may be comprehended as words which may be put in different combinations and the permutations in order to produce the speech and meaning of a political power or state. State as distinct from political power is an abstraction metaphorically conceived sometimes as spirit or power of a Nation, spirit or power of Reason, spirit or power of the General will, spirit or power of Absolute. This abstraction is also sometimes paraded as the spirit and power of the class interest wishfully expected to disappear in a classless society to be realised in future through an engineered Revolution. When this metaphysical-cum-ideological notion of state is given an evolutionary dynamism of its own, the personification of the abstraction is complete and we have the grand theories of state formation diachronically marching across the whole country, nation, subcontinents and even the world sometimes at an easy pace and sometimes in violent imperial, nationalistic and revolutionary rage. Nationhood of a people or culture is decided on the basis of this abstraction. When we give up these highly sophisticated abstraction we have the discursive approach to power.

If we adopt this discursive approach to power the question of India having been a nation or not disappears. Debate on state formation is ruled out and the Procrustean ordeal of making state a vehicle of class interest in the land of caste becomes unnecessary. Then we come face to face not with the abstraction of power relations but with the power relations and the event of political power being based on their different combinations and permutation together with the clout of the man, group or groups attempting it. We will be under no obligation to stick to it the labels of feudal disintegration or segmentary integration

around some economic or religious notion.

Power relations and their diverse religio-political articulation

In the vast Indian subcontinent with diverse ethnicity, linguistic communities, religious and cultural ways of life, power relations are bound to vary ecologically and contextually. The pace of development of all the groups and communities of the people was never uniform across time. There were as there still are, rural, urban and tribal elements existing together. Money economy coexisted with natural economy as did rural self-sufficiency with overseas trade and industry. All sorts of social customs beliefs and practices along with these created enough and diverse kinds of tensions which lent themselves for political exploitation and thereby became power relations. Religion played a significant role in facilitating articulation of power structures based on its perceptions of different possible and practicable combinations and permutation of power relations in a particular socio-cultural and ethnologica; setting. The following examples will illustrate the point.

A study of Gahadavala land will present before you the example of a case of the exploitation of power relations through the ministration of religion. Jagusarman occupying the office of *mahapurohita* in the Gahadavala kingdom was granted villages in different *pattalas* almost every year. The dated inscriptions show that he received a village in 1114, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1125, 1126 and 1127 A.D.¹ Then there is a gap of ten years after which he was allotted village in 1139, 1141 and 1177 A.D.² We have knowledge of a total number of 11 villages being granted to him on religious occasions of *manivadi*, *pratipada*, *mahasaptami*, *tulapurusa mahadana*, *jatakarma samskara*, *upanayana* etc.³ His son Praharaja Sarman got in 1145 A.D. a village in the capacity of a *rauta*.⁴ This shows that Praharaja Sarman was a *rauta* in Gahadavala state when his father was a *mahapurohita*. But after him probably he was himself elevated to the office of the *mahapurohita* and received in that capacity village grants in the years 1168, 1170, 1172, 1173, 1175, 1177 and

1179 all on religious occasions.⁵ The brother of Jagusarman, named Vyasa and another son of the *mahapurohita*, called Maharajasarman were also granted one village each.⁶ Another Brahmana of *Vatsagotra*, Ravidharavarman, occupying the office of *mahasandhivigrahika bhandagarika* under the Gahadavalas was also given the villages called Candavaka, Kesavaka, Payasriri, Ratu and Guderar on the occasion of the birth ceremony of prince Hariscandra by Jayacandra.⁷ The same officer is shown to have presented three *mudris* (rings or amulets) bedecked with diamonds to the newly born prince in another grant which also informs that Avalu grama with its *patakas* too was granted to him perhaps in return of this present to the prince.⁸ Devapala Sarman bearings the title *Thakkura*⁹ and Sahajusarman son of *thakkura* Lahula¹⁰ also received one village each from their Gahadavala ruler Govindacandra.

The outstanding characteristic of Gahadavala land grants noted above is their being received by the Brahmanas who were also royal functionaries. Following more Brahmana functionaries, as is evident from the titles held by them, also received grants : a *thakkura* of *vasta gotra* and Yajurveda *sakha*,¹¹ *thakkura* Anantasarman, a Brahmana of Vasistha *gotra* and Chandogya *sakha*,¹² *thakkura* Malhanasarman of *Vasta gotra*,¹³ *thakkura* Narsimhasarman of Vasistha *gotra*,¹⁴ *rauta* Ravidhara,¹⁵ etc. Besides these, the Chandravati plates of the Gahadavala king Candradeva dated 1093 announces the grant of a whole *pattala* to 500 Brahmanas except 20 *devagramas*, 2 *dvijagramas* and 6 *vikaragramas* already alienated no doubt to other Brahmana beneficiaries.¹⁶

Grants to ksatriya or kayastha functionaries of the Gahadavala kingdom are negligible. The Asiatic Society charter issued in favour of a *rauta* Rajyadharvarman specifically mentioned as ksatriya in the grant itself curiously states that the purpose of the grant was the gain of merit (*punya*) and glory (*yasa*) for the parents of the donor and of the donor himself, the modality of the transfer was preeminently religious distinguished as it was a catching hold by the donor of the ear of a cow together with *kusa* grass and purifying water and the mention of the *gotra* of the donee who was of *vatsa gotra* having Bhargava,

Cyauana, Apnuvan, Aurva and Jamadagni *pravaras*. The terminology of the charter is thus so overwhelmingly religious and meant for a Brahmana donee that the inscription had to specify the Varna of the donee to dispel the impression that he might have been no other than a Brahmana. This was probably because of the draft officially developed by the Gahadavala royal archive taking for granted that a donee should necessarily be a Brahmana. The uncommon use of the same draft also for the Ksatriya donee Rajyadharavarman required the specific mention of his caste.¹⁷

Monopoly over almost all the high offices of the kingdom by the Brahmanas whose sacerdotal capacity did not cease by their elevation to the offices of the state, as is evident from the grant of vilages on the occasions of the birth and initiation of the prince and in lieu of the amulets presented to the newly born prince appears to be the hallmark of Gahadavala state. Various naimittika danas on different holy dates and events of the year leading to the almost yearly grant to the royal purohita and at times to his brothers and sons shows the highly religious character of the Gahadavala power. This does not appear to be on account of the extremely religious character of the Gahadavala kings but because of the unusually high position that the traditional guardians of religion, the Brahmanas acquired in the regional power relations. The religious ascendancy of the Brahmanas created the social soil in which the Gahadavala state was rooted. Rather than Brahmanas being dependent on the potrange of the Gahadavala kings, the sacerdotal support of the Brahmanas was crucial for the Gahadavala state. This situation in the regional power relations inducted the Brahmanas into positions of power and made them the most influential partners of the ruling aristocracy. Their hold on the power of the Gahadavala state resembled that of an extra-constitutional power which derives all sorts of benefit by virtue of its influence on the authority but without any accountability of its own.

The emergence of the influence of the Brahmanas over the rest of the ethnic components of the area of Gahadavala kingdom appears to have been a product of the long-drawn tradition of their religious ascendancy gradually consolidated

into their socio-economic hold over the interests contrary to their own. The numerical superiority of the non-Brahmanas ethno-social elements must have been neutralised by social fission involved in the process of enhanced casteification. The unholy marriage between the interest and power of the Brahmanas and those of the rulers brought about by the unshakable position of the latter in the power relations of the classical matrix of the political authority the emulation of which was engineered to the extent possible in the context of ethno-political and socio-religious setting of the peripheral areas. The success of the emulated classical idiom of political articulation was directly proportionate to the suppression and undermining of the power and interest of non-Brahman elements and their managed division into caste hierarchies.

The case of Candella kingdom will illustrate the point. The corpus of Candella inscriptions reveals a number of immigrant Brahmanas from Tarkarika, Dhabari Bhattagrama, Kumbhato Bhattigrama, Dhakari, Bhattagahara, Panikavadā, Managavan, Bhattagrahara, Phodiva Bhattagahara, Mutausa Bhattagrahara, Pataliputra nagara, etc., receiving village and land grants from Candella kings and queens on different religious occasions. All these donees were learned in some *sakha* of the Vedas. The Semara grant of paramardideva records a grant of land to 309 Brahmanas belonging to different *sakhas* and *caranas* conferred by Madanavarman.

Some of these Brahmana receiptents of Candella grants bear such official titles as *senapati* and *rauta* while others like Balabhadra Mallaya were warrior of note but their official title has not been recorded. Their number, however, is not very high, at least not as high as in the Gahadavala kingdom. Their number is also smaller than these immigrant Brahmanas who received the royal patronage on account of their learning but without being appointed to any office of the state. There is no evidence of a *Mahapurohita* bequeathing his office to his son and receiving a village almost every year during the tenure of his offices and that of his son.

Kayasthas figure as *dharmalekhins* and *thekkuras* in several of the Candella grants. Some of the kayasthas have received grants of the villages too. The vastavya kayasthas

jajuka appears to have occupied such a high position in Candella aristocracy that in one of the inscriptions he is said to have bestowed on king Ganda the role of lordship of the earth (*ekatapatram jahatipativam*) and was granted a village Dugauda together with the general superintendence of the affairs of the state as the reward of his services. Another distinguished kayastha Mahesvara, a man of great military achievements, is said to have saved the life of the king Lirtivarman in battle of Pitadri and was elevated to the office of *visisa* of kalanjara, besides getting the village Pipalahika as reward of his services. The Ajayagarh rock inscription shows the attempt of the kayasthas to climb the ladder of social respectability by managing for the *vastavya* family a genealogy reaching back to *rishi* kasyapa and Brahma.

There is also a katriya component of Candella aristocracy bearing the title *rauta*. The Garra plate records the posthumous grant of two villages as *mrtyuka vritti* to *rauta* Savanta, the father of *rauta* Pape who fell fighting in some battle and lost his life in the cause of his master.

Although no village or land is known to have been granted to them, the Jainas appear to have occupied a high berth in Candella aristocracy. They figure as donors of gardens, Jaina images and *caityalayas*. Jaina *sresthins* like pahilla were not only honoured by kings like Dhanga but also were included among the *kulamatyas* vrinda, i.e., hereditary ministers of the Candella kings like Vijayapala.

Another important feature of the Candella aristocracy appears to be the importance it attached to the artisans. There are not only references to respectable titles like *rupakara*, *vijnanin*, *ritikara*, *sutradhara*, *vastusastrajna*, *pitalkara*, etc., applied to them on account of their accomplishments in their trade but specific mention has also been made of the conferment of the title *thakkura* on *sutradhara* sri suprata.

This profile of Candella aristocracy shows that power relations in Bundeleshwar were different from those obtaining in the Gahadavala kingdom. Jainas and Kayasthas rather than the Brahmanas were the chief elements in the configuration of power relations of the region ruled over by the Candellas. Relative weakness of the hold of Brahma-

nical orthodoxy on Candella power may also be inferred from the conferment of the title *thakkura* on a *sutradhara* who belonged to the otherwise socially low category of *silpins*. Patronage was being extended to Brahmanas by Candella kings in order to adopt themselves to the classical norm of kingship. This classical imperative provided the Brahmanas an opportunity to work for greater dominance by gradually changing the regional power relations and this must have led to the casteification of a society containing Jinas, Kayasthas and artisans as important elements of economic, intellectual and technological power. Social transformation effected by Brahmana ascendancy imposed under the patronage of the rulers emulating classical model of kingship must have worked for the social degradation of the Jinas, Kayasthas and the artisans.

A third model of classicalisation of religious power relations is afforded by the structure of political power created around the temple of Jagannatha in Puri. Till early medieval times the terrain was predominantly a tribal area with its pillar gods and goddesses propitiated by offering the animal sacrifices. It had a strong *tantrika* substratum too in as much as Puri is also a reputed Sakta *pitha*. King Yayati kesari of Dakshina Kosala is known to have conquered it and brought with him 10, 000 Brahmanas and settled them in different parts of Orissa. Ananga Bhamadeva is said to have proclaimed god Jagannatha as the king and declared himself as the first servant of the god. The profile of the cult of Jagannatha reflects the changes effected by the politically and militarily supported Brahmanas in the already obtaining power relations, and social values of this area. Goddess Vimala has been proclaimed the *bhairavi* of god Jagannatha and unless the bhoga offered to god Jagannatha is not offered to goddess Vimala it does not become *mahaprasada*. There are four categories of temple functionaries called *pasupalaka*, *arcaka*, *Vaidya* and *acarya*. The images of Jagannatha, Balrama, Subhadra and Sudarsana cakra are made by *daiyitas* who are tribals. Priests of goddess Vimala are not Brahmanas but non-Brahmanas belonging to Mali caste. Every year a sheep is sacrificed to Vimala as offering and every year the *dayita* repair the wooden

imagee of Jagannatha before *Rathayatra* and rebuild the image after 16 or 18 years. Dayitas are supposed to be the nearest kings of Jagannatha. They mourn the death of Jagannatha, shave their heads and observe the traditional period of impurity after the old images are buried following installation of the new ones. Behind this grand ritual synthesis is undoubtedly the untold story of the Brahmanization and casteification of Orissa, jointly worked out by an implicit alliance of political power and the Brahmanas. But the compromise made and the share conceded in the ritual of the temple and the power of the state is remarkable, even though it could not ward off the overall imposition of the caste hierarchies over egalitarian Tribal ethnicity of the area. The egalitarian practices of the regional population were monumentalised within the precincts of the Temple by proclaiming that the sanctity of *mahaprasada* of the temple is such that even a Brahmana eats the crumb of food fallen from the jaws of a dog.

Brahmana orthodoxy had to make cult compromises in Candella kingdom too as Kalanjara, one of its important seats of power, is also a sakta pitha and at the same time a Saiva and a sraddha tirtha. But, unlike the case of Jagannatha temple, the synthesis of diverse cultic elements is not documented here.

Elements of classicalization

Classicalization of power has been an ongoing process in India's transformation from a congeries of tribal, lineal, military and various other kinds of devices of regional and local political control to a more or less uniform governing system having the sanction or her immemorial tradition. One may teleologically glorify it as a tendency to impending National integration, one may perceive it as one of the most important elements of the much talked of unity in diversity, one may as well portray it as the work of unfolding material culture in its own deterministic way, but whatever was accomplished by it was achieved at a tremendous cost of higher social values which would have grown better had they been spared this feat of social

engineering effected by the unholy marriage of religion and politics. The immense damages entailed by this alliance of religious and political clout may be made explicit by isolating the elements of this process of classicalization.

Classicalization for the sake of uniformity and sublimation of a culture is not at all a bad thing. But such an objective is attained if it is done on high principles. The principles that were put forth for social, political and religious integration were no doubt high. For example, the considerations of *guna*(marit) and *karma* (conduct) as the basis of social differentiation coupled with the theory of equality of all being and that of sacrificing smaller interests for greater good are second to none. These principles of Indian culture are good for creating a first rate social, political order emerging from the religious commitment to these virtues. But, for from being a vehicle of these virtues, classicalization turned out to be a career of vested interests disguised in the niceties of religions. These high virtues were relegated to the domain of religion as preached by highly enlightened seers of it and should well deserve universal veneration but actual life has been conceived more or less as a game of interest where religious clout rather than high ideals of religion matter. Promotion of egalitarian order and dignity of labour would have ensured neither religious nor political domination. Therefore, the first task of the religious clout was to turn egalitarianism inherent into Indian culture into pseudo-egalitarianism to be promised and realised through the practice of religion in the next world. Social inequalities were explained as rewards of the good or evil deeds committed in the previous lives. Predominance of the ruling aristocracy, of which the essential elements were the Brahmanas in the classical model, has been explained as pre-ordained in the divine scheme of things decided by the unverifiable retributive theory of *Karma*. Pseudo-egalitarianism produced from the travesty of egalitarian principles of Indian culture, thus constitutes the first element of classicalization as it really happened in Indian History.

The demand of religion as means of social and political integration was to consolidate it as a system of

higher values inspiring nobler social and political conduct of individuals and groups but the opposite pull of serving the vested interest by accomplishing fusion and fusion of social aggregates with a view to power design led to the development of such innumerable myths, superstition and rituals in it as could be used as tools to accomplish this end. Creating unchanging permanent group identities arranged hierarchically as fixed ritualistic order and reducing competition and mobility by an inflexible regime of hierarchical gradation rather than on a scheme of rights and duties produced cellular structures with in-built sensibilities admitting of manipulation best suited to the vested interest. Such social hierarchies were nothing but religiously contrived components of caste system which perpetuated itself through the rough and tumble of gradual and violent changes of Indian history adopting its inbuilt power relation to the diverse kinds of power and interest games of rulers and aristocracies of different character. Caste culture and the concomitant power relations get stimulated by the promotion of vested interest by the Brahmanas and these, in turn prepare and provide the powers base for the political rulers. In the classical paradigm of power rulers and Brahmanas are, therefore, natural partners. The second element of classicalization is, therefore, helping the process of creation of the caste-hierarchies as inbuilt bases of political powers patronizing the Brahmanas.

Lack of unfeigned dedication to higher religious principles among the Brahmanas prevented the consolidation of religious pluralism into any unitary structure. Religious unity, if any, was always notional and at the highest level of philosophical abstraction. Religion in its mundane manifestation was the face of this highest conception and admitted all sort of complexities, contradiction and disjunctions. This total fragmentation at the lower level made religion a convenient cloak of vested interest of Brahmanas and a source of worst forms of injustice, suppression and inhumane degradation of individuals and group enmeshed into the inflexible hierarchies of *varna*-caste order. This is why it was very much religious to practise untouchability at the social level, while yet proclaiming the doctrine of the

essential unity of all beings down to the level of Candaala and a dog. Interest-oriented Brahmanas by and large became the worst hyppocrites always talking of very ideals of religion philosophy and yet indulging into the heinous act of reducing the majority of the people to the position of underdogs. Enjoying all the royal patronage they always formed an extra-constitutional axis of power which was the third element of classicalization.

The foregoing study of religious pluralism and power relations in early medieval India thus brings to light many hidden implications of the imposition of the classical paradigm of political power on innocent ethnic partners whose rank and file were generally reduced to perpetual degradation, backwardness and poverty.

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CERTAIN HEARSAYS OF THE EARLY JAHANGIR PERIOD, AS KNOWN FROM THE ENGLISH TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNT : A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

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Fortunately some of the early English merchants-adventurers, visiting our country, have left valuable accounts¹ of their stay in India. These present interesting pictures of our landscape, geography, peoples, customs, historical events and even hearsays. Undoubtedly these accounts suffer from inaccuracies mostly due to communication gap but project a definite pattern and therefore it is not unlikely that some of the later accounts based themselves on the earlier versions in other words an "English Tradition" itself had developed out of these accounts. Foster has done a fine job in pointing out some of the "errors" yet there is room for improvements or at least a debate. I propose to take up some of these debatable points in a subsequent paper, while this paper aims at some of the current "gossips" which the poor travellers accepted in good faith and which are related to their current history. I feel that such "gossips" have a place in pointing out the minds of the people, despite that many of them are disproved by the actual happenings of the times. Since many of these present particular "modes" (and are not just isolated "patches"), these might well represent certain projections of the society, which are otherwise unknown to us from the established sources. Even Abu'l Fazl in his *A'in-e-Akbari* records some of these "miracles", an apt example is that "the Sipra turned into a river of milk"² but Abu'l Fazl just missed the event by the margin of a week.³ A person like Jahangir whose autobiography is replete with statements that the Emperor

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took pride in checking the veracity of phenomena, records that a large number of Hindus and Muslims "had borne testimony (to Abu'l Fazl) that some days previously at night that this river had become milk, so that people who took water from it that night found in the morning their pots full of milk...⁴ This is to show that the air was thick with such hearsays and even Jahangir, though non-committedly, found it worth mentioning (with no comments from the Emperor) the "miracle". Therefore the English travellers recording some of these oral traditions, cannot be accused of fabrication. On the other hand these help us to peep into the Indian mindset of that period. As we shall notice below these are varied in nature.

1. We find the myth that Babar, the Timurid invader of India, depicted to have come in the guise of a faqir. William Finch, an English merchant who lived in our country from 1608 to 1611, records⁵ "...Babur his (Jahangir's) great grand father, who first set foots into India with thirtie of his nobles, all clad like kalenders (Persian, *qalandars*) or fookeer (*faqirs*), which so came to Dely (Delhi) to Secanders (Sikandar Lodi 1489-1517) court then reigning; whereby his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy and returned upon his oath not to attempt anything during the said Secanders reigne, which he performed; but after his death he sent his sonne Hamwane (Humayun) upon his successor Abram (Ibrahim Lodi 1517-26), from he took the whole kingdom..." Foster comments on the above account : "There seems to be no truth in this story of Babur's visit to India in disguise; and it was he and not Humayun, who made the invasion in 1526".⁶ Foster's noting is history but what Finch makes a reference, depicts Babar's pre-1526 status and thus he calls Babar as "King of Cabull" (Kabul). This could be based on the fact that Babar was in no mood to found an Indian Empire, though destiny had something else in store and eventually Babar's descendants were Mughal Emperors of Delhi. Finch's account is most likely based on oral history and shows that within a few generations the gullible masses gave a romantic touch to the Mughal invasion. Here we are reminded of Allauddin (Khilji's) invasion of Chittor as depicted in Melik Muhammad Jayasi's *Padumavata*, where similar patterns emerge like sending Mewari troops in the guise of women carried on

dolis (palanquins). No doubt, during the great sufi poetry movement, which was still a living tradition when Finch was writing, there were parallel stories or even the story of Babar's invasion was in the air somewhat in the above form which the visiting merchant recorded.

2. It is strange that these English travellers have designated Jahangir as Shah Salim. Thus it appears that this nomenclature was still prevalent among the English merchants in India. History tells us that this was Jahangir's name before he came to the throne, when he practically declared independence during the last years of his father, Akbar's reign assuming the title, Shah. The psychological reason seems to be that while Akbar was under the influence of the Portugese faction, Salim the Crown Prince showed favours to the English. In the tussel for access to the throne and race for receiving more and more concessions in trade, the English were outwitted by the rival Portugese, mainly due to the presence of the Jesuit priests who were close to Akbar. Now with the change of rule, their old ally, Shah Salim (Jahangir) came to power. It is likely that with this background, the erstwhile name and title continued in the minds of these English merchants and they continued to refer the new Emperor as "Shah Salim".

3. The myth of Khusarav, the ill fated son of Jahangir who rebelled and lost his claim to the throne. Khusarav's account occurs in a few of the English travellers' writings from which it appears he was still popular among the Indian masses. William Finch refers to (Prince) Khusarav's mother's residence in the Lahore palace complex of the Mughal Fort : "... Before the moholl of Sultan casserooms mother is placed a high pole to hang a light on, as before the king; for that shee brought forth his first sonne and heire..."⁸ Yet when Finch was writing, she was already dead, several year back and thus her palace in Lahore represented an earlier episode, a memory.

It is plain history that in the above passage Finch is confused since actually Shah Banu's suicide took place much earlier (1605) when "Salim" (later Jahangir) was still the rebel Crown Prince, proclaiming his independence, rather claiming the Agra throne.⁹ Now we are faced with a number of historical

problems. There seems to be a myth current in the air that Akbar, dissatisfied as he was with his Crown Prince Salim, himself had nominated Prince Khusarav to the throne. Of this no historical account is available except that Khusarav had a strong lobby in his grand father's court at Agra, to the extent that Salim (Jahangir) stationed himself at Allahabad (not to say that he mounted a march against Akbar, his father), by-passing the Imperial orders etc. etc.

The issues are :

(a) Whether Man Singh's sister and Khusarav's mother (Shah Begam) had a divided loyalty between her husband and her son. We know that her brothers Man Singh and Madho Singh¹⁰ of Ambar were openly espousing Khusarav's accession. Rai Singh of Bikaner had fled Jahangir in fear of royal wrath after Khusarav's rebellion and even Jahangir had to pardon him after some time that he could not ignore such an important noble of the court.¹¹ The explanation, obviously, seems to be is that Finch, no historian as he was, mixing up dates and events as he was recording these. Most likely Khusarav had rebelled earlier as well and that brought the tragic end of his mother. Yet the interesting point is that these gossips still were so popular.

(b) Related to the above is the myth that Akbar proclaimed Khusarav heir to the throne¹² during those turbulent years. For Finch unhesitatingly records : "...a saray built by Sha Salim in memorial of the overthrow given Sultan Cusseron (Khusarav), his eldest sonne, the occasion where of was this. Sha Salim, upon some disgust, took armes in his father's lifetime..." and "...Acubar (Akbar) gave the crowns to Sultan Cussereon..."¹³ This seems to be well against actual historical events and possibly was circulated by the Khusarav lobby (or better anti-Salim lobby with strong Rajput backing) to legitimise Khusarav's revolt, which was simmering in Akbar's life-time, as is evident from Jahangir's (later) remarks that the lad's mother was desperately trying to dissuade him from such rebellious activities. Who knows if even a person like Abu'l Fazl was also Khusarav's supporter consequent to which he was ambushed by Salim's men on his way to Akbar's court in Agra.

Khusarav's popularity can be assessed by the fact

that (in April 1605) as he marched towards Delhi and beyond, he found supporters after supporters, including several religious leaders of consequence. Anyway, the legends as we know from the English records show manifestly that the Khusarav episode gathered lot of momentum, coupled with romanticism soon after the incidence.

4. **Award of blinding punishment to Khusarav :** this particular episode has been discussed by historians time and again and thus it leaves little room for further investigation. The English accounts on this issue are interesting. Finch leaves a detailed account of Khusarav's capture¹⁴ and adds that Jahangir "...returning to the place where the batell was fought (and some say) caused his eyes to be burnd with glass; others say only blind folded with napkin, tying it behind and sealing it with his own seal, which yet remaineth, and himself prisoner in the castle of Agra..." (and Jahangir) "called this place Fetipoore..."¹⁵

Foster has referred to other sources in a foot note¹⁶ quoting a few of the contemporary sources which confirm "this rumour", sometimes with added colour, like Terry who goes on to say that Khusarav's... "eyes were sealed up for the space of three years; after which the seal was taken away..." Foster also quotes Sir Thomas Roe (who has made no reference to Khusarav losing sight in 1617, the year of their dialogue) recording that Khusarav still believed that he "was destined to succeed the throne...". This explains as to why Khurram (later Shah Jahan) was overcautious about his elder brother and rival's custody. Prince, as quoted by Foster informs that "the Prince was deprived of his sight by having a wire thrust in his eyes..." and that "his vision was afterwards restored by the skill of a surgeon..." Foster adds that there was a popular belief that "Khusarav could see quite well in his later years...", before he was murdered (1622). Jahangir¹⁷ is silent on the type and degree of punishment which the ill-fated prince received but makes an oblique reference to the method of blinding¹⁸ : "...he (the impostor) showed ... the parts about the eyes, where at some time he had produced scars, of which the marks were still apparent, and told them (the gullible people) that in prison they had fastened *katoris* on them and those were the marks." Jahangir's

above statement also shows that this blinding took place when Khusarav spent his days as a prisoner and not exactly on the heels of his capture thus this "punishment" must have taken place sometime between the first and fifth reign year of Jahangir (the date of reporting of the above event). Here we refer to a painting now in the Berlin Museum, showing a lad watching a cock is in the royal Jahangiri style; the inscription in the corner a popular device of this group of paintings, informs that it is a portrait of (Prince) Khusarav. The interesting part is that it does not suggest a totally blinded figure, but with a defective eye, as if stricker with an eye problem. The question at this point is whether this eye-type was originally painted (since the prince is too young in the portrait for his age in 1605) or was re-touched later on to convey the concept of being blinded at a slightly subsequent stage.¹⁹

5. **Khusarav's imprisonment and other sentences :** Thomas Coryet (1612-17) informs that Khusarav had only one wife.²⁰ (probably meaning Aziz Koka's daughter), who insisted that she would spend her days sharing her husband's travails of captivity. Jahangir has left many details on the treatment Khusarav met from his father (i.e. from the Crown) after he was captured. The overall picture which emerges from these accounts is that generally speaking the rebel son was mildly treated and was allowed to remain with his family; children were born under captivity and one of the two sons thus born was christened by the grand father (Jahangir) as Dawar Bax and latter was awarded the rank of five thousander and 2000 horses²¹ etc. Obviously there were ups and downs in the royal favour (for example, permission to appear before the king or its withdrawal, most likely due to the son's political misdemeanours). Foster²² quoting Della Valle informs that Nur Mahal (subsequently, the famous Nur Jahan) offered "her support against Khurram, on condition that he (Khusarav) would spouse her daughter by her former husband" which he rejected. From these accounts and also that some degree of influence Khusarav wielded (see below), it appears that he was not handled severely. Thus the following statement should be viewed in the above light :

"Sultan Cursaroo hath but one wife; for which one principall reason is that during his imprisonment

the king, intending to make a hunting progress of foure moneths, consulted how to keepe him safe in his absence; at last resolved to build a towre and immure him within it, without gate, doore, or window, except some small holes to let in ayre, higher then he could come unto; putting in all sorts of provision whatsoever, both fire, clothes, etc., with some servants to abide with him for that time. While this was building, his wife came and fell at the kings feete, and never would let goe till shee had obtayned leave to bee shut up with him. The king much perswading to enjoy her libertie, she utterly refused any other comfort then to be the companion of her husbands miseries amongst which this was the greatest, that if any of those that were immured (beeing in number fiftie) should have dyed in the kings absence, there was no meanes to burie them, for that no man was admitted to come neere the towre. "

The story given in Elliot's History of India, vol. vi (p. 448), that the Prince was deprived of his sight by having a wire thrust into his eyes, but that his vision was afterwards restored by the skill of surgeon, is not only improbable in itself but is obviously an attempt to reconcile the current belief in the blinding with the fact that Khusaru could see quite well in later years.

On the other hand the above accounts, once again suggests that romantic stories were woven around Khusarav even during his life-time. For doesn't the above statement have a distant parallelism with the folk love-stories of our country, where we find a prince (or a princess) shut in similar conditions? Jahangir informs us, on the other hand, "My fatherly affection did not permit me to take his life...", or, "...I averted my eyes from his faults and kept him in *excassive comfort and ease* (stress mine)..."²³ This is his second reign year's account. Even when his ninth reign year Jahangir consigned Khusarav to the Gwalior Fort (during that period a concentration of political prisoners), under Khan Azam's charge, he "ordered him (Khan Azam) (that Khusarav) not to be kept in the fort as a prisoner, but they should provide everything necessary for his *comfort and convinience* in the way of eating and clothing"²⁴ (Stress mine). Thus it was practically a "house-arrest".

Now as we come to the end of this essay I must refer to the influence Khusarav held even during his captivity. Perhaps his detention in the Gwalior Fort was an outcome of the fact that Khusarav had some links with the Maharana (of Udaypur) and the latter could still be instigating the former to create problems for Jahangir. The *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*²⁵ states that "...my (Jahangir's) object in sending him (Khusarav) to the fort (of Gwalior) was (that) in case some disagreement and disturbance might occur in the matter of the Rana in consequence of the attachment that he (the Rana) had to Khusarav...". Moreover, there was a lobby (though crushed in the first regnal year of Jahangir, itself) which tried to evolve a political solution between the father and the son, namely "The Panjab should be given to Khusarav and this quarrel cut short", and the leader of this group Fath-ulla had a following of five hundred men.²⁶

In the above light Nicholas Withington's statement²⁷ that as one of the English merchants sought favour from Prince Khusarav, only shows his connections with these adventurers and thereby their interest in recording the latter's anecdotes sprinkled with a good deal of rumours current in the Indian society. In the present instance (one) "Mr. Rogers also visited the Prince Sultan Cusserew, who received him verve graciously, giving him a letter to the Governor of Suratt... which letter steode us in good stead in Suratt..."²⁸

Several hearsays woven with facts are recorded by these English merchants, which help us in understanding the beliefs of early Jahangiri society, giving a new dimension to the social history of that period.

NOTES & REFERENCES :

1. William Foster, *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, reprinted, Delhi, 1968, hereafter referred as Foster.
2. The *A'in-e-Akbari*, English translation by H.S. Jarrett, second edition, reprinted, Delhi, 1989, vol. III, p. 207, annotated by J. Sircar.
3. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*, English translation by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge, reprinted, Delhi, 1968, vol. I, p. 354.
4. This English translation of the *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* refers to Abu'l Fazl's version, vide its foot note 1, p. 355.
5. The passage refers to Jahangir's times, Foster, *op.cit.*, pp. 164-165.

6. Foster, *ibid.*, p. 165, f.n. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 164. She was given the title of "Shah Begam".
9. A side issue here : in the above account Foster has identified Finch's "Menepore" with Manihpur "alongst the river Ganges". Yet it is quite likely that it was Manikpur (popularly known during the Mughal period as Kara-Manikpur).
10. English translation of *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* (*op.cit.*), pp. 55-56, where Jahangir has painted a moving picture of "Shah Begam's" dedication to him and that "she would have sacrificed a thousand sons and brothers for one hair of mine..." and that "she constantly wrote to Khusrav and urged him to be sincere to me..." Jahangir attributes Shah Begam's suicide due to her failure to dissuade the rebellious Khusrav (*ibid.*, p. 56).
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.
12. Foster, *op.cit.*, pp. 107-108.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 160. Finch remarks that Jahangir followed his father, Akbar, who had named Sikri as Fatehpur but translates this word as "Heart's Content" which obviously is a wrong rendering.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 160, f.n., 1.
17. *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri's* English translation, *op. cit.*, p. 68ff.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 174, as he relates the story of an imposter who rose against the throne pretending to be Khusrav (1611).
19. Another tiny portrait of Khusrav appears in the "family tree" composition of the Mughal princes; here again Khusrav is shown in his early teen age.
20. For Khusrav's other wife, daughter of Muqim, who bore a son to him, see *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*, English translation, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 321.
21. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 238, p. 260 : was appointed to Gujrat in Jahangir's eighteenth regnal year, p. 297 : Jahangir sent dress of honour in his nineteenth regnal year. It may be noted that the political assignment came two years after his father, Khusrav's death.
22. *Op. cit.*, p. 277.
23. *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*, English translation, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p.122.
24. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 261.
25. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 229.
26. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 111-113.
27. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

THE PROTOHISTORIC AFGHANISTAN : PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

—V. C. Srivastava*

Compared to the works and available information on protohistoric Bronze age cultures of other areas—Indus, Mesopotamia and Central Asia, the Afghan protohistoric material is very limited and fragmented besides the comparative lack of scientific exposure of the available data. Naturally there are more problems than solutions in the reconstruction of Afghanistan's cultural evolution from the 4th millennium B.C. to the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. It has rightly been suggested (Shaffer, 1978, 185) that there are two categories of problems in respect of Afghanistan - firstly methodological and chronological; and secondly problems connected with culture processes. Firstly, there is total lack of information on protohistory of central Afghanistan. Shaffer's view that there is total lack of information on northern Afghanistan cannot be upheld after the scientific excavation at Shortughai and detailed analytical report of the excavation as well as work in Daulatabad, Dashli and Farukhabad Oases and reports on these sites by Saricnidi (1977) and others. But more work is needed in the area. For example, the sites surveyed by Gardin in 1978-79 (Late Bronze age - Early Iron age sites) needs to be excavated. Even the data from southern Afghanistan is limited to Mundigak supplemented by Said Quala and Deh Morasi and the difficulty arises from the fact that the excavation at Mundigak has not followed, as was natural for that time, scientific methods. For example, no effort has been made to enquire into settlement pattern, density of population and subsistence system of the site. In short, palaeoeconomy remains untouched.

Very few C-14 dates (Srivastava, 1995) are available. Casal's C¹⁴ dates for Mundigak have been disregarded

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because of wrong method of collection, possible contamination and aberrant results. New dates by Dales (MASCA corrected) are few (4 for Pd. I, no date for Pd. II, one aberrant contradictory date for Pd. III, one published date for Pd. IV type material from Deh Morasi). Three dates from Said Qala are more confusing and suspect due to water contamination. A single date is available for Deh Morasi IIb. C-14 dates from Dashli are also not very reliable while Tillya Tepe II has given us one date only. However, the dates of Shortughai (16 in number) are reliable though in few cases there are chances of contamination. Barring above mentioned C-14 dates most of the dates are based on ceramic styles/architecture. More C-14 dates from all periods and sites are needed.

The adjustment between man and ecology is again an untrodden field which is very essential for knowing the subsistence system and relationship among four variables ecology, technology, human population and social organization. It is very essential that more work of a scientific nature on ecology/environment/palaeo-climate of protohistoric Afghanistan should be undertaken so as to enlighten the relationship between four variables listed above.

The problem of nomenclature of the protohistoric culture of Afghanistan is also a pressing problem because no name/taxonomy for the entire protohistoric culture of Afghanistan could be presented so far. In case of Indian sub-continent, the name of the Harappan or the Indus culture has been accepted though the inadequacy of both the names have been felt by many in view of wide extensions of the culture as well as the appearance of features such as rural settlements in Gujarat which could not be associated with the originally so-called the Harappan or the Indus culture (Possehl, 1990) much different and sometimes in contradiction with earlier viewpoints such as the perspective of continuum versus dichotomy. In spite of all these facts, the name of the civilization in India is accepted as the Harappan or the Indus. In the case of Afghanistan we have names on the basis of type sites such as Mundigak culture, Shortughai culture, Dashli culture etc. During the last decade some generalised names have been propounded such as the Hilmand civilization comprising the cultures of Shahr-i-Sokhta in eastern Iran and cultures of Mundigak, Said Qala and Deh Morasi as

well as Seistan sites in southern Afghanistan. Another name—the Oxus civilization and its variants the Namazga civilization has been propounded to define the protohistoric culture of southern Turkmenistan, Bactria and Shortughai (eastern Bactria). The names—the Oxus civilization and the Namazga civilization are parallel names to the Indus and the Harappa civilization. Even these two names—the Oxus/Namazga and the Hilmand civilization do not subsume the protohistoric culture of northern and southern Afghanistan as a whole but are expressive of the protohistoric cultures of northern and southern Afghanistan. Former Soviet archaeologists (Sarianidi 1977) have proposed the existence of a separate Bactrian Marginian archaeological complex which includes South Turkmenistan and northern Afghanistan. However, it ignores the identity of culture of north Afghanistan. Francfort (1981) proposed the name of Oxus civilization "for Bactro-Marginian complex in his works." The oxus civilization groups nearly 200 sites in the catchment basin of the Amu Darya; it has been called elsewhere the "Namazga civilization" (Kohl, 1981, vii-xxxviii); the two terms paraphrase the words 'Harappan and Indus'.

The Oxus civilization flourished during the urban phase of the second-half of the third millennium B.C. in Bactria and Margiana and did not disappear until the mid second millennium B.C.—a period covering the duration of Namazga V and VI and Shortughai I-IV. During the urban phase, the Oxus civilization shows relations with the Harappan, Hilmand, Hissar, Baluchi, and Elamite cultures and civilization (Srivastava 1995). This is not a by-product of the 2000-1800 B.C. urban crisis in the Piedmont of Turkmenia. It is true that elements of Oxus culture/Namazga culture complex may be traced in Bactria in all phases and from this point of view a broad name—the Oxus civilization may be applicable to northern Afghanistan's protohistoric culture. Corelations have been established between Shortughai and other cultures (Francfort 1989) as follows :

Shortughai I = Namazga V = Dashli early phase =
Mature Harappan

Shortughai II = Namazga VI = Dashli Sapalli =
Post Harappan (Jhukar)

Shortughai III = Namazga VI = Dashli Sapalli (Dzarkutan
phase) = Post Harappan (Jhukar)

Shortughai IV = Bishkent (Dashli Sapali Mollali)

Askarov (1977) has classified Namazga (Oxus V and VI) into three successive phases—Sepali, Dzarkutan and Mollali. There are objects of Oxus/Namazga culture in Dashli 1 and 3 (Francfort 1981, 1989, 419). Francfort (1981) himself admits that the Oxus culture at Shortughai falls into the fourth period but it seems intrusive because its artifacts are not elements of the common Shortughai IV assemblage. Shortughai IV is a particular culture interacting directly with the Bishkent cultures (tomb deposit) and indirectly through Bishkent with the Oxus culture. Shortughai I and II are manifestation of Mature Harappan culture. The protohistoric culture of Daulatabad (Tikar I, II, III, IV), Dashli and Farukhabad oases inspite of many Oxus features have their own identity as early farming settlements (Sarianidi 1977). In view of such factors it would not be proper to justify the nomenclature of the Oxus/Namazga civilization. Another nomenclature for southern Afghan protohistoric culture has been suggested by Tosi as the 'Hilmand civilization' which includes the civilization of Shahr-i-Sokhta in Southern Iran and Seistan, and Mundigak and related sites' culture (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973 : 26) because the material culture of Shahr-i-Sokhta has many parallels with the Afghan sites. Shahr-i-Sokhta (II and III) are similar to Mundigak III and IV, Said Qala I and IV, Deh Morasi I and IV and to the Quetta valley in terms of ceramic, lithic, artifactual, ceramic figures compartmented seals and architectural designs. We may accept intensive interactions and communications between Shahr-i-Sokhta and Mundigak and related sites of southern Afghanistan which is well established but we cannot ignore the fact of gradual evolution of Mundigak culture from I to II and II to III and IV and then an individual period V—all of them have some identity of their own and as such it is not correct to brand them with one general name of the 'Hilmand civilization'. We may quote Kohl (1984 : 327)—"The two type sites, Shahr-i-Sokhta and Mundigak of the Hilmand valley civilization share for fewer and less significant parallels in material remains than those which unite the two major sites (formerly 'twin capitals') of the Indus Valley civilization—Mohenjo-daro and Harappa".

Tosi (1977, 1979) developed the concept of Turan as a region of protohistorical culture integration which in

ordinary language includes four culture areas—Southern Turkmenia, Margiana-Bactria upto Shortughai plain and eastern Iran and southern Afghanistan and is distinguished from Mesopotamia in the west and the Indus in the east. Kohl (1984 : 321-331) has rightly criticised Tosi on account of his arbitrary limits fixed for Turan and the presence of regional diversities in the region. As such it is not correct to place protohistoric culture of Afghanistan as a part of a wider civilization sphere such as 'Turan'. Lamberg-Karlovsky (1984) rightly says that we should not construct ephemeral cultural entities as the Hilmand civilization or the Oxus because Hissar, Namazga and Mundigak do not belong to a single culture area as they share very limited cultural similarity in architectural, ceramic and other material remains. From the above review of different suggested names it appears that none can be applied to the protohistoric civilization of Afghanistan. It would be better to continue with the name of site cultures rather than one comprehensive name subsuming all the site cultures in Afghanistan. Thus the problem of nomenclature remains unresolved.

Shaffer (1978 : 185-186) has already listed many specific problems of cultural processes such as the old theory of diffusion as an explanatory model in contrast to recently developed theory of autochthonous development/indigenous processes, the emergence of a new explanatory model of symbiotic development of specialised agriculture and specialised pastoral nomadism as contemporary and reinforcing adaptation, the explanation for the abandonment of Mundugak after period IV, the role and value of lapis trade, role of widely distributed female figurines etc.

In addition to these processual problems there is the problem of the archaeological identification of Aryan movement in Afghanistan. It is established that the early Vedic people existed in Afghanistan and Punjab. So far, there is no satisfactory identification of the Aryan with any archaeological complex. The identity of the Aryans with the P.G. Ware culture in Indian sub-continent has been suggested. Some former Soviet archaeologists (Sarianidi 1977) have expressed the opinion that the grey ware of Dashli may be associated with the Aryans, but it is not based upon any rational ground. However, the symbolic existence of specialised agriculture

and specialised pastoral nomadism in Afghanistan, chronological contemporaneity of later Dashli-Farukhabad Shortughai complex may be indicated as the Aryan complex. But it is still problematic.

It may be mentioned here that Mandelshtam (1968) thinks that the Bishkent culture is the culture of the Indo-European nomadic tribes coming from the steppes and on road to India. The Bishkent culture is found at Shortughai IV = Dashli Sapalli. But other Soviet scholars (Litvinsky 1970, 1973; Askarov 1977; Sarianidi 1977) contradict the opinion of Mandelshtam. Alchin and Hammond (1978 : 409) remark that it is not possible, inspite of advances in Iran and India, to correlate archaeological data to reconstruct language history, and "Afghanistan remains still without a sufficient factual basis of archaeological data". Contrary to it Sarianidi (1977 : 105) believes that even with the current knowledge it is possible to solve the problems of ethnic history and language affinity of particular groups of the population. However, it would be fruitful if the archaeological cultural complex of northern Afghanistan (Daulatabad, Dashli, Farukhabad and Shortughai in late phase (1500-1000 B.C.) may be examined with a view to correlating their features with the Aryan cultural features as revealed by the *Rgveda* (for example as it has been done by P.C. Pant in *Bharati*, Vol. 19, 1993; R.N. Nandi in *IHR*, XVI [1 & 2] 1990, 35 : 79).

The movement of tribes in the first millennium B.C. has also be enlightened by the future discovery of cultural complexes in Afghanistan. The suggestion of a proto-silk road (Francfort 1985 : 131) is worth investigation.

Sarianidi (1977) has tried to reconstruct the picture of palaeo-economics and palaeo-demography, Family and Society, Ethnic history etc. of Northern Afghanistan on the basis of Dashli evidence supplemented by Mesopotamian records and ethnic history. His approach is Marxian but the reconstruction is worth emulating for the southern Afghanistan also on the basis of Mundigak evidence supplemented by external evidences. The exercise is worth attempting though it may have many gaps and problems. Thus, the protohistory of Afghanistan has many gaps and limitations which can be filled up only if new explanatory models are put forward, more information is available as a result of scientific analysis

of data and the adoption of problem-oriented excavation in place of earlier policy of pick a site and dig. The need is for scientific study of raw material sources and ore artifact relationship as far example it has been done in the case of lapis lazuli at Shahr-i-Sokhta (Delmas and Casonova in SAA, 1990 : 493-496). The protohistoric archaeology of Afghanistan has a great potentiality and future for understanding of its own cultural evolution as well as for understanding the cultural development of contingent areas—Central Asia in the north, Iran in the west and Indian sub-continent in the east (Sarianidi 1977 : 168).*

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*Sarainidi has rightly remarked that "it is indisputable that during the Bronze and Early Iron ages Afghanistan enters the arena of emerging civilization of the ancient East".

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THE HOLISTIC PRINCIPLES OF AYURVEDIC MEDICINE AND ITS MOLECULAR BASIS

—R.H. Singh*

Ayurveda is one of the most ancient systems of medicine in the world. It is considered as the fifth Veda or the Upaveda of Atharva Veda and as such its antiquity goes back to Vedas, the oldest recorded wisdom on the earth. Ayurveda is survived through the ages in the form of two sets of original authentic texts each consisting of three books viz. (1) *Vṛhatṭrayaī* i.e. the three big books namely *Caraka Samhita* (600 BC), *Susruta Samhita* (500 BC) and the *Samhitas* of Vāgbhata (600 AD); (2) *Laghutrayaī* i.e. the three small books namely *Sāraṅghara Samhita* (1300 AD), *Bhāva Prakāsa* (1600 AD) and *Mādhava Nidana* (900 AD). All these texts are originally written in Samskrit and are in the form of encyclopedia dealing with all aspects of life, health, disease and cure. The approach is essentially philosophic, holistic and humanistic. Ayurveda is more a life and health oriented science than a disease and treatment oriented discipline. It present a total life science and visualises the total health of a total human being in a holistic way.

Ayurveda advocates a complete promotive, preventive and curative system of medicine and appears to have been practised in ancient times in the form of eight major clinical specialities of Medicine namely (1) *Kāyachikitsā* (Internal Medicine), (2) *Śalya Tantra* (Surgery), (3) *Śālākya Tantra* (Disease of Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat), (4) *Kaumārphṛtya* (Paediatrics, obstetrics and Gynaecology), (5) *Bhūtavidyā* (Psychiatry), (6) *Agad Tantra* (toxicology), (7) *Rasāyana Tantra* (Nutrition, Rejuvenation and Geriatrics), (8) *Bājīkaraṇa* (Sexology). Thus it is obvious that Ayurveda was already a

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well developed system of medicine in ancient times.

THE APPROACH :

The extensive knowledge and wisdom about all aspects of medicine available in Ayurvedic classics is very rich. It is really intriguing to think as what were the approaches, methods and tools which were used to discover such an advanced knowledge. Certainly these were not the crude physical experimental methods. The methodology would have been definitely intuitive, experiential and perceptual. Ayurveda like all other systems of ancient Indian learning made discoveries through the most subtle sources namely the *Pramāṇa* viz. (1) *Pratyakṣa* (Direct perception), (2) *Anumāṇa* (Logical inference), (3) *Āptopadeśa* (Verbal and authentic documentary testimony), (4) *Yukti* (Experimental evidence) etc. In view of the above nature of the Ayurvedic knowledge, it is suggested that all studies and investigations, directed towards revival of this great science in present times should follow three main methodological parameters in the present time viz. (1) Historicity, (2) Linguistic and (3) Comparative evaluation with contemporary sciences like western modern medical sciences.

If we examine the Ayurvedic concepts in proper historical perspectives with correct linguistic interpretations viewing the same in the light of comparable contemporary knowledge it may not be difficult to reach the genuine meaning. While undertaking the comparative studies one has to appreciate that Ayurveda and the Contemporary modern medical sciences have very different approaches. If comparisons are made without taking into account the distinct approaches there is always a chance of misleads. The obvious distinctions between Ayurveda and Western Medicine are that (1) Ayurveda is essentially an experiential science as contrast to Modern Medicine which is an experimental science, (2) Ayurveda has a holistic and totalistic approach, (3) Ayurveda is a function (Physiological) oriented science in contrast to Modern Medicine which is structure or organ oriented, in otherwords the latter does not believe in a function unless it is identified to be related to a structure, while Ayurveda looks at the whole organism as a total indivisible being which

has to function as a whole to exist as a whole.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES :

THE MICROCOSM MACROCOSM CONTINUUM :

Ayurveda is based on the Laws of Nature. The theory of Loka-Puruṣa Sāmya (Macrocosm - Microcosm Continuum) is the most important principle of Ayurveda. The individual human being is the miniature replica of the universe. The individual and the universe both are essentially Pāncabhautika i.e. made up of five basic physical factors or elements namely *Ākāśa* (Ether/Space), *Vāyu* (Air/Motion), *Teja* (Fire/Radiant Energy), *Jala* (Water/Cohesive factor) and *Prthvī* (Earth/Mass). The individual (*Puruṣa*) and the universe (*Loka*) remain in constant interaction with each other and also derive and draw materials from each other in order to maintain their normalcy and homeostasis. This exchange follows the law of Sāmānya and Viśeṣa (Homologous Vs Heterologous) on the simple principle that a Similar/Homologous matter increases the similar while a dis-similar/Heterologous matter decreases or depletes the same. The interaction and exchange between Loka and Puruṣa continue in a natural way as the man breaths air, drinks water and consumes food articles available in the nature. So long this interaction is wholesome and optimum, the man is in optimum health. When this harmonious interaction breaks a disease state starts. Hence the main principle of treatment of a disease is nothing but to restore harmony between the Loka and the Puruṣa and to restore normal balance of Panca Mahābhūtas in the body and mind with due homeostasis.

THE ĀYU & PANCA MAHĀBHŪTA THEORY :

Ayurveda conceives, Life (*Āyu*) as a four dimensional entity comprising of *Śarīra* (Physical body), *Indriya* (Senses), *Sattva* (Psyche) and the *Soul* or *Ātmā*, the conscious element. Thus the individual life being is a comprehensive spiritual unit which is highly dynamic and is in constant interplay with the cosmos. As stated earlier the gross human body is *Pancabhautic* i.e. it consists of a proportionate combination

of five Mahābhūtas. The *Panca Mahābhūta* theory is essentially a theory of Physics. The *Panca Mahābhūtas* represent the five essential aspects of the matter namely (1) The Mass as earth or *Prthvī*, (2) The cohesion as water or *Jala*, (3) The Motion as air or *Vāyu*, (4) The Radiant Energy as Fire or *Teja*, (5) The space as the ether or *Ākāśa*.

THE THEORY OF *TRIDOSA* :

These five physical attributes constitute three major biological components of the living body called *Tridoṣa* i.e. the three *Doṣas* viz., *Vāta*, *Pitta*, *Kapha*. The entire body function is explained in terms of these *Doṣas*. They are called *Doṣa* because of their inherent tendency to get vitiated and to vitiate each other. *Vāta* is the biological product of the predominance of Air and Space. *Pitta* is the product of predominance of Fire while *Kapha* is the product of Earth and Water factors of the *Panca Mahābhūta*. Thus the *Tridoṣa* Theory of Ayurveda is essentially a biological application of the *Panca Mahābhūta* Theory of Hindu Physics. Sometimes the three *Doṣas* are understood as the three conceptual constructs developed by the propounders of Ayurveda to explain the human physiology in a unique holistic way. Apparently the total human body consists of a mass of solid substratum added over it with an intensive interplay of chemical activity and an energy pool of motion and movement. All these three aspects co-exist in a predetermined proportion and function in a manner complementary to each other in the interest of the overall function of the total organism in spite of their opposite properties and functions. Out of the above, the solid substratum of the body is called *Kapha*, the chemical moieties are the *Pitta* and the motional energy component is the *Vāta*. The existence of the three *Doṣas* can be felt in the gross body as a whole and can also be traced at the molecular level. Each cell of the body consists of a mass substratum, a chemistry and an operative energy. They are the *Kapha*, *Pitta* and *Vāta* aspects of the cell organelle respectively. The proportion of the three has to remain in an appropriate range of normalcy. This range of proportion varies from organ to organ/tissue to tissue/ cell to cell. For example a Nerve Cell, i.e., a Neuron in the brain may have higher values of

Vatā than other two *Dosās* while a cell of an endocrine gland like the cells of the thyroid has more of *Pitta* and the relatively inert cells of the bone tissue like the osteocytes or muscle cells may have more of *Kapha* than others.

THE *DOṢA PRAKRITI* :

The relative proportion of the three *Dosas* is very important. The genetically determined relative proportion of the three *Dosas* within normal range is called *Doṣa Prakṛti*. Depending upon a variety of prenatal factors there develops a particular pattern of relative preponderance of one or the other of the three *Dosas* in an individuals' constitution and this genetically determined normal preponderance is responsible to determine the total personality make-up representing the sum total of his physique, physiology and psyche. Thus the *Doṣa Prakṛti* is an important consideration in the understanding of human life, health, disease, disease susceptibility, preventive and promotive health care and treatment requirements of a patient. The Ayurvedic texts describe in detail the physical, physiological and behavioural features of the persons of different *Prakṛtis*. Ordinarily the texts describe seven types of *Doṣa Prakṛtis*.

THE *TRIGUNAS* :

The Panca Mahābhūtas are represented in the Psyche of an individual in terms of the three Guṇas of the Manas or mind i.e. *Triguṇa* viz., *Sattva*, *Raja*, *Tama*. The *Ākāśa Tattva* is represented in *Sattva Guṇa*. *Vāyu* and *Teja* are represented in *Rajo Guṇa* while *Prithvī* and *Jala* are represented in *Tamo Guṇa*. The *Tamo Guṇa* represents mass and inertia while the *Rajo Guṇa* represents dynamicity and activity. The *Sattva* is the state of complete balance. Depending upon the genetically determined relative preponderance of one or the other of three guṇas the psychic make-up of an individual varies. This variation is categorised as three major *Mānas Prakṛtis* further subdivided into sixteen subtypes or traits. In principles an average normal individual is the total combination of all the 16 traits. However one of the traits may predominate giving characteristic features

to him and that becomes his mental type or *Mānas Prakṛti*.

SWABHĀOPARAMVĀDA AND SELF HEALING .

Ayurveda propounds an important theory of Natural Self Cure and spontaneous healing through the doctrine of 'Swabhāvoparamvāda'. According to Ayurveda the human body is inherently endowed with an unique power of self defence and spontaneous healing against injury and disease. The body heals itself and a natural cure follows after every injury and insult. The role of medicine is only to assist the nature.

BASIC CAUSES OF DISEASE :

However inspite of the rich resource of natural resistance and immunity of the body technically termed as *Vyādhikṣamatva* people do suffer from a variety of mental and physical disorders warranting medicinal interventions. Hence, it is necessary to write a few lines about the causes of disease as conceived in Ayurveda. Ayurveda propounds that the primary cause of all diseases is the failure of harmony between the man and his environment i.e. the interaction of the Microcosm with the Macrocosm referred to in Ayurveda as the *Puruṣa* and the *Loka*. Fundamentally the *Loka Puruṣa* interaction takes place at the level of three factors i.e. (1) *Kāla* or Time factor and its chronobiological influences, (2) *Buddhi* or Intellect of man as the major source of thought information and (3) *Indriyārtha* or the objects of the five sense organs as the source of stressful information from the macrocosm to the microcosm. The normal function of *Kāla*, *Buddhi* and *Indriyārtha* are the important attributes of life process. But their unwanted malfunctions classically termed as *Ayoga*, *Atiyoga*, *Mithyāyoga* are considered as the primary cause of disease. The *Ayoga*, *Atiyoga* and *Mithyāyoga* of *Kāla*, *Buddhi* and *Indriyārtha* are termed as *Kāla Pariṇāma*, *Prajnāparādha* and *Asātmyendriyārtha Samyoga* respectively and are considered the primary cause of all diseases. All other causes of ill health known and described in different schools of medicine are secondary to these primary factors which are essentially environmental factors. Thus the cause of the disease according

to Ayurveda lies in the environments and so also the cure is to be found in the nature.

EVOLUTION OF A DISEASE AND DOṢIKA RHYTHM :

When an individual is indisposed through the above mentioned etiological factors, the disease process ensues in the form of Tridoṣika arrhythmia and vitiation of Doṣas which may lead to irreversible diathesis giving rise to a full fledged disease. Susruta Samhita a leading Ayurvedic classic describes six stages of the evolution of a disease depicting them as the specific opportune stages for applying appropriate therapeutic interventions. These stages are appropriately termed as *Ṣaṭkriyākāla*, viz., (1) *Sancaya* (stage of accumulation of Doṣa) (2) *Prakopa* (stage of vitiation), (3) *Prasara* (Stread), (4) *Sthāna Samsraya* (Localisation), (5) *Vyakti* (stage of manifestation), (6) *Bheda* (stage of chronicity and complications). The precision adopted in describing these stages of disease process in relevance to the needed therapeutic intervention is an unique concept and exhibits the intensity and purpose of an observation. The basic philosophy behind the concept of *Kriyākāla* is to emphasize the need of early detection of a disease and an appropriate timely therapeutic intervention so that the disease process may be reversed towards normalcy without waiting for cure of an end stage disease to manifest. An Ayurvedist will like to detect the defect right at the moment when the seed of the disease is just sown. As a matter of fact the stage of *Sancaya* is the seed stage of the disease.

THE AGNI AND ĀMA :

In the above context it is often questioned, why the Dosas start getting accumulated. Rather what is the main triggering factor which is responsible to precipitate the *Kriyākāla*. Among many factors *Agni* the digestive and metabolic fire of the body is considered the most important factor. There are thirteen types of Agnis in the body which are responsible for digestion of food, and metabolism at different levels. When the *Agni* becomes weak, a number of unwanted unripe byproducts of digestion and metabolism start forming and accumulating in the body at different levels from gross to

the molecular level, from local GIT level to the systemic level over tissues and cells. Such products are called *Āma* and act as toxic and antigenic materials. The presence of *Āma* renders an *Āma* state in the body which is characterised by increasing impermeability and sluggishness of the body channels named *Srotas*. Such a state of the body allows *Sançaya* of *Dosas* which is the first *Kriyākāla* and the subsequent of events follow as compulsive phenomenon. It is in view of this fact that Ayurveda categorically emphasises that all diseases are the product of weak *Agni* and in turn the main principle of treatment of all diseases in Ayurveda is to restore and strengthen the *Agni* i.e. the digestion and Metabolism.

THE AYURVEDIC DIAGNOSTICS :

The Diagnosis in Ayurvedic medicine is not always in terms of the name of a disease, but is in the form of a description of the disease process depicting the pattern of vitiation of *Doshas* and *Duṣyas*, the seat of morbidity i.e. the organ or *Srotas* involved and the quality of life, health and personality of the patient. All this demands a very extensive interrogation and examination of the patient. Ayurveda makes a two fold approach to diagnostics viz., (1) Examination of the patient i.e. *Rogi Parīkṣā*; (2) Examination of the disease i.e. *Roga Parīkṣā*. *Rogi Parīkṣā* is essentially concerned with ascertaining the constitution of the individual and status of his health and vitality. It is not meant for the diagnosis of the disease. The emphasis on ascertaining the constitutional background and evaluation of the status of health in a diseased person is a unique concept of Ayurveda. Ayurveda advocates to undertake this part of clinical examination keeping in view the fact that such informations about the patient are always of great help in presuming the diagnosis, in prognostication and in deciding the overall line of management and treatment of the patient. Caraka, the foremost authority on Ayurveda describes a Ten-fold methodology for this part of clinical examination which consists of (1) *Prakṛti* (constitution), (2) *Vikṛti* (Disease susceptibility), (3) *Sāra* (quality of tissues), (4) *Samhanan* (compactness of the body), (5) *Pramāṇa* (Anthropometry), (6) *Sātmya* (Adaptability), (7) *Sattva* (mental Stamina), (8) *Āhāra Śakti* (Digestive Powder), (9) *Vyāyāma*

Śakti (Physical strength), (10) *Vaya* (Age and rate of Aging).

The Roga Parīkṣā or pathological examination is carried out with the view to diagnose the present disease. This is usually done in three parts, (1) Interrogation for main complaints and history, (2) General examination by popular eight fold examination including Pulse, Urine, Stool, Tongue, Skin etc. and (3) Systemic examination of the whole body including the thirteen gross channels the *Srotāmsi* spread over the *Ṣaḍaṅgas*, the six major parts of the body viz., Head-Neck, Chest, Abdomen and the extremities. The Pulse reading is considered as one of the most important aspects of clinical examination. Having physician is supposed to know a lot about the health and disease of his patient. Many physicians claim to depend entirely on pulse reading for making a diagnosis although classical Ayurveda does not make any such claim.

PROMOTIVE AND PREVENTIVE HEALTH CARE :

Ayurvedic Medicine is essentially promotive and preventive in approach. However, it also provides a comprehensive system of curative medicine for the treatment of the sick adopting an unique holistic approach. In accordance with the four dimensional concept of Āyu or 'life' Ayurveda conceives a four dimensional definition of 'health'. Suśruta one of the classic authors on Ayurveda defines health '*Swāsthya*' i.e. a state when an individual is in a state of '*Sama*' or balance of the three *Doṣas*, the thirteen *Agnis*, the seven *Dhātus* and the *Malas* i.e. he is in the state of total biological equilibrium besides being in the state of sensorial, mental a emotional and spiritual wellbeing ('*Prasanna*'). Thus Ayurveda presents the most complete definition of health for the first time. The Ayurvedic texts describe a comprehensive schedule of health regimen for preservation of health as a code of health conduct popularly known as '*Swāsthya Vṛtta*'. This includes the daily code of health conduct ('*Dinacaryā*'), conduct for the night ('*Rātricaryā*'), conduct in relation to various seasons ('*Rtucaryā*'), etc. Details about life style, diet, exercise, personal and social hygiene (*Sadvṛtta*) have been described. Extensive information is available on nutrition and dietetics. Ayurveda also describes in detail the role of periodical

biological purificatory measures and consumption of restorative remedies called *Rasāyana* for promotion of health, longevity and immunity i.e. *Vyādhikṣamatva* or resistance against disease.

THE CURE AND ITS APPROACH :

The object of curative treatment in Ayurveda is to restore balance of *Dosas* (*Dhātu Sāmya*) because according to Ayurveda a disease is nothing but a state of imbalance of *Doshas* or in other words loss of equilibrium of the homeostasis. The therapeutic attempt to restore balance is done by (1) augmenting the weakened *Doshas*, (2) by decreasing the increased *Doshas* and (3) by preserving the normal ones. This is done by utilising appropriate diets, drugs and activities drawn from the Nature on the principle of *Sāmānya* and *Viśeṣa* (Homologous vs Heterologous). According to the classical doctrine of *Sāmānya* and *Viśeṣa* a similar or homologous material received from outside enriches the similars in the body and a dissimilar or heterologous material depletes its counterpart in the body. This is the concept of *Sāmānya* and *Viśeṣa* in Ayurveda and is considered the fundamental basis of all actions natural or artificial in Ayurveda. This is the Law of Nature and the same is adopted by the physician in the treatment.

THE THREE STREAMS OF THERAPY :

Ayurveda describes three main streams of therapeutic intervention which may be complementary to each other but most often all used specifically for certain specific categories of ailments. The three classical therapeutic streams are—

1. *Daiva Vyapāsraya Cikitsā* (Divine therapy),
2. *Yukti Vyapāsraya Cikitsā* (Rational therapy),
3. *Sattvāvajaya* (Psychotherapy).

The divine therapy is specially indicated in *Kārmik* diseases i.e. the diseases caused by actions of past life and where no definite acquired cause is traceable and where no rational therapy is effective. The divine therapy is often practised in tune with Astrology. Stars, Stones, *Mantra*, *Japa*, *Oblations*, prayers etc. are the usual therapies for this purpose. This is a kind of Astrotherapy. It is neither a psycho-

therapy nor a therapy of biological significance. Ayurveda describes psychotherapy separately as *Sattvāvajaya* and biological therapy as *Yuktivyapāsraya Cikitsā*. The *Yukti Vyapāsraya Cikitsā* is the rationally planned therapy taking into account the doctrines of *Panca Mahābhūta*, *Tridoṣa*, *Triguṇa*, *Agni*, *Āma* etc. following the principle of *Sāmānya* and *Viśeṣa* (homologous Vs Heterologous). This is essentially a rational biological therapy aiming at restoration of balance of homeostasis (*Dhātu Sāmya*).

THE RATIONAL AYURVEDIC THERAPY :

This Rational Ayurvedic treatment is carried out in two parts, viz., (1) *Samsódhana* or purificatory therapy and (2) *Samsamana* or curative treatment. The *Samsódhana* therapy also popularly known as *Panca Karma* Therapy aims to purify the body from gross to subtle levels and to clean the channels of the body to enable free flow of nutrients, medicaments and metabolites. The living human body consists of innumerable channels called *Srotas*. Due to ill health, wear and tear these channels, which are traceable upto the level of pores of cell membranes, get blocked, sluggish. Ayurveda advocates that these channels should be cleaned by *Samsódhana* measures in order to enable the organism to heal itself by spontaneous recovery and also to enable the medicaments to reach the target sites more easily. Thus *Samsódhana* is considered a prerequisite for all kinds of medications and therapeutic interventions. A number of procedures are described for *Samsódhana Karma*. From practical point of view it is practised in two forms :

(1) External purification by way of oleation, fomentation and massage where a therapist uses oil bath, heat and physical pressure of massage as the tools of the treatment to soften and mobilise the *Malas* or impurities. External purification measures liquify the impurities and push them to gross channels (excretory systems) from where they get easily excreted or are expelled with the help of major internal purificatory procedures of *Samsódhana Karma*. Thus these external purificatory measures like oleation, fomentation and massage are considered as preparatory measures for the major Internal Purificatory Therapies.

(2) Internal Purification is the major intervention and consists of *Vamana* (Emesis), *Virecana* (Purgation), *Anuvāsana Vasti* (Oleus enema), *Āsthāpana* (Non-oleus enema) and *Śirovirecana* (Snuffing). These are popularly known as *Panca Karma* or five fold therapy.

In principles the *Samsodhana Karma* is followed by specific *Samsamana* or curative treatment which consists of rationally planned diet, drug and life style. While formulating a scheme of *Samsamana* treatment the physician keeps in view the *Prakṛti* of the patient and components of his *Vikṛti* or morbidity namely the pattern of vitiation of *Doṣa*, *Dhātus* and the *Agni* etc. He takes the help of *Pancabhautik* composition of drugs and diets including their *Rasa*, *Guṇa*, *Virya*, *Vipāka* and *Prabhāva* and follows the Law of *Sāmānya* and *Viśeṣa* (Homologous Vs Heterologous).

THE CRISIS IN WESTERN CULTURE AND THE FUTURE OF MANKIND : A GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE

—Ramjee Singh*

The western civilization has a great heritage¹ from the time of the Greeks and the Romans to its dominant role in the contemporary world. But its ending has been repeatedly forecast by Danilevsky, Spengler, Toynbee² and others. Krishnamurti also joins : "Everything about us has collapsed though seemingly, there is order, in fact there is slow decay, destruction : the wave of destruction is constantly overtaking the wave of life."³ However, Sorokin hopes that "mankind is now at the stormiest point in its passage from the disintegrating *Sensate* culture, values, social institutions, government, and type of personality, to the integral, familistic, social, cultural and personal order."⁴

It seems that the old civilization has crumbled but the new one has not yet been born and this is the crisis of the present. The crisis is both inner as well as outer. In the inner field, there is the crisis of perception i.e., inawareness of truth and awareness of the false. In the outer field, the crisis is the conditionings of the human psyche working as a single channel computer resulting in lowering the level of perception, sensitivity and rationality. "The old chasm for between knowledge and wisdom has widened dangerously."⁵ In our thirst for knowledge, we have cut ourselves from wisdom.⁶

Epistemological Crisis:

The contemporary western civilization is still rooted in Cartesian dualistic metaphysics and subject-object dualism. The result is that we have not grown psychologically or inwardly. Hence, "we go about our daily lives understanding nothing

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of the world."⁷ From mind-matter dualism we have developed space-time matrix. But we have conveniently forgotten Einstein's warning that "Space-time does not claim existence of its own, but only a structural quality of the field....."⁸ So Sachs Mendel explains that "Relativity theory implies that the space and time co-ordinates are only the elements of language that is used by an observer to describe his environment."⁹ In our pride of science, we have come to despise and reject intuitive and instinctual perceptions that have here to fore animated and given perspective and hope and meaning to human existence. We need as David Bohm's physics requires a new instrument of thought and a perception of the "unbroken wholeness" in a non-dual frame which can understand life directly and in a concrete manner rather than in the abstract, linear terms. The subject-object dualistic mode of intellectual knowledge has its own limitations. It cannot understand the deeper level of mind-brain interaction. Max Born also feels that "clever, rational ways of thinking are not enough."¹⁰ Hence it has no cure for psychological imbalances. Instead of blaming the science, we have to restructure them as Neils Bohr want us and others have done, where we can learn, "to harmonize our positions as spectators and actors in the great drama of existence."¹¹ "The world-view implied by modern physicist" as Fritz of Capra says, "is inconsistent with our society, which does not reflect the harmonious interrelatedness we observe in nature."¹² It means that we need an inward revolution. It is time to say a good bye to the time-hallowed discrimination between subject and object. Though we have to accept this dualism in everyday life for practical reference but we have to abandon it on in philosophical thought. Hence Schrodinger concludes "The world is given to me only once, not one existing and one perceived. Subject and object are only one. The barrier between them cannot be said to have broken down as a result of recent experience in physical sciences, for this barrier does not exist."¹³ The present dualistic knowledge mechanism to bifurcate the 'seer' and the 'seen' is mutilation of knowledge¹⁴ and is only one-sided and partial knowledge, and which leads to an "argument between nature and man."¹⁵ This knowledge provides "knowledge of one-half of the world (which will) ensure ignorance of the other half."¹⁶ We need an

understanding which is the immediate, the present, always timeless, psychologically flowering and without interference. This is a quantum jump from symbolic-dualistic frame to non-dual frame, from fragmentation to holistic or ecological perception. This is intuition, which is not against reason but beyond reason, rather it is fulfilment of all scientific and intellectual knowledge. Discoveries in the field of atomic physics do recognise the insufficiency and inadequacy of subject-object dualistic intellectual knowledge and point out towards the validity of intuitive understanding in Buddhism, Hinduism and Tao.

Crisis of Survival:

Today, for the first time in the four million years of history, man finds himself standing at the edge of total annihilation. "The danger is man himself. He is his own worst enemy. He is acquiring tools and studying techniques that might solve the problem we set-the complete elimination of Homo from the planet earth."¹⁸ So Schweitzer has warned: "we have lost the ability to foresee and forestall. We shall end by destroying the earth."¹⁹ Carl Sagan also laments: "What a waste it would be after four billion tortuous years of evolution of the dominant organism contrived its own self-destruction."²⁰ This danger to our survival is not from outside, but from within. We are the only species on the globe that is acting to liquidate itself. Leave aside the sermons of the saints and scriptures, we have turned a deaf ears even to the warning from Nobel Laureates and atomic scientists that Dooms Day is at our doors. Let us find out the cause of this self-suicidal instinct.

So far we have ushered physical revolution which is incapable of transforming the human psyche. Man's evolution is not biological but psychosocial, it operates the mechanism of cultural tradition...²¹ Hence, Krishnamurti rightly says that, "man's nature inherited from the animals, is aggressive, violent, angry, full of hate and jealousy and this also exists in the animals, so perhaps we have derived from the animals this instinct to possess."²² He still retains many things that he possessed before man became man.²³ Hence, we need a mind which is free from its own conditioning hence it is with-

out interference. Unless there is change in our mental make up, peace will only be a dream. This needs the exploration of the physics of consciousness, where there is neither subject-object dualism, nor any psychological imbalance. It leads to a quantum jump from dualistic frame to non-dualistic and holistic frame.

Dilemma of Moral and Political Power:

The survival of human race is largely determined by a mere handful of the top rulers of the great nuclear powers. "Never before in history has the life or death of so many depended upon so very few."¹⁴ And they do not have the wisdom of a serpent and the innocence of the dove. Secondly, the political rulers have too low moral integrity and their criminality is too great to entrust them the life and well being of mankind. Science and technology has provided them the tremendous power both of destruction and brain-washing that it leads to concomitant denial of his own freedom. All men have lust for power but unless political power goes with moral power, we cannot out of this predicament.

Power corrupts man and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Hence there is no way out except integration of politics with ethical and spiritual values. However, it is a dilemma of human history that while all nations practice violence for the endurance of this governments, there is not our experience that a government based on violence can survive. "But the hold of violence is so great that even though violence has failed a thousand times, we still put faith in its capacity to succeed."²⁵ Even dictatorial governments seek the support of public opinion. This means that policies of violence has the seeds of its own destruction. Hence, the dilemma of politics persists. Either it must evolve a non-violent polity or remain in the clutches of violence. The western polity has become a prisoner of its own compulsions and hence it cannot bring disarmament and peace.

Crisis of Contradiction:

Nikolai Danilevsky found inherent hostility between European and Slavic-Russian civilization and thought that

war between the two is inevitable. He had also a political prognostication and prophecy that in this clash Salvdrom will emerge as victor over senile and exhausted Europe and will take over its role of world leadership.²⁶ Oswald Spengler has demonstrated that "world-history is the history of the civic man. Peoples, states, politics, religion, all arts, and all sciences rest upon one prime phenomenon of human being: the town" - the last phase or the 'winter' of this civilization characterised by "world peace with private wars", "the world city", the "intellectual nomad", the declining birthrate, "preponderance followed by decline of money", by "disappearance of creativeness", and "second religiousness". "With the disappearance of creativeness, both physical and spiritual, divilization finally disintegrates and collapses."²⁷ At present, the high tide of democracy, parliamentarism, intellect money has been on the wane. We can refute Spengler's prejudices of undemocratic concept of society, disbelief in the freedom of the press, superiority of the Man of Action over the Man of Thought, acceptance and advocacy neither of morality nor justice but only Force, but it does not explain away the impressive fact that he foresaw much earlier the degeneration of western culture caught in the coils of ever-ending wars, mass democracy, the great dictators, growth of unwieldy cities etc.²⁸ According to Toynbee, the core of the breakdown of civilization is the same: the creative minority can no longer bring up sufficient creative force to meet the challenges of the movement. It loses its appeal to and its spell over the masses and can only continue to exercise its leadership either by force or by rendering the nimesis automatic and therefore empty. The creative as leading minority thus becomes the oppressive minority. Thus a schism, a loss of social unity occurs; which is the beginning of disintegration of civilization. The disintegration and the schism inherent in it engender a period of great political and social conflicts known as "time of troubles." Toynbee has been criticised for following no pattern or purpose in history, having a Christian bias,²⁹ one sided choice or presentation of examples, neglect of certain factors in history and the wrong idea that civilizations are either born or die. Professor Geyl brands Toynbee a "prophet of gloom" but as Toynbee has justly retorted that the "gloomy" or "cheerful" quality of a theory has nothing to

do with its being true or false. Toynbee's views of history may be constructed as "a challenging call to action, not a death sentence to paralyse our wills," because history is the resultant of a process of challenge and response. Besides Toynbee's views about the western civilization having been "broken down and gone into disintegration,"³⁰ does not mean catastrophe beyond redemption but merely the origin of shortcomings which finally cause the collapse of the society.

Loss of Creativity:

The quintessence of decay has been identified as loss of creativity or creative power, whether it is a failure to devise an adequate response to a challenge, or to a failure to devise dominant minority to retain the voluntary allegiance of the masses or to a vanishing sense of style, or to a replacement of instinct by reason. This is also the root of all such aspects of decline as the replacement of great ideas and principles by personal strife as motivating factors in public life; the absence of new great styles in art, the absence of new philosophies, the loss of sense of style, the increasingly intellectual character of spiritual life followed by a movement away from rationalism; The decrease of dynamics and vigour of the society : the physical sterility, with its sequence of depopulation. "The test for determining whether a society has gone into decline or not, therefore, becomes a matter of determining how strong its creative forces are."³¹

The present phase of western civilization has developed characteristics like the development toward larger cities (megapolis), yearning for peace but also preparing for armament and war, the age of the mass (revolt of the masses as Ortega y Gasset has described), hero worship, the rise of tycoons, declining power of money, the growth of world cities, declining birth rate, return from rationalism, loosened moral standards, loss of sense of style and also to some extent territorial construction of western civilization. Among the three main challenges like Communism, European disunity and anti-western slant in awakened nationalism, the West can perhaps boast of taming Communism in Europe and also laying a solid base of European Parliament and European Economic Market. But the emergence of the third world and growing

consciousness of the non-western people against western materialism, technology and education has become a dominant trend.

Creativity in Euro-American World:

Nobody can deny the West has achieved a high watermark in the development of scientific knowledge and material advancement but today it has reached a blind alley. The most dreadful problem is of human survival due to the threat of thermo-nuclear war/terrorism and also due to depletion of non-renewable resources and holes in the ozone layers. We need not stop progress of science but it must have a guide. Science is a-moral, so it requires values. If this is wrongly guided it will lead to unprecedented disaster and catastrophe. Science and technology without self-control can only result in widening the frightening gap between poor and rich, multiply tensions, mistrust and fear. Hence what we need is integration of science and spirituality, between science and self-control. We can no doubt see creative forces in European policies like the idea of the Western Union, a European Defence Community or Council of Europe but unless policies are based on goodness and spirituality, it is nothing. Similarly creative forces in European Economy in the name of Marshall Plan, European Market and also globalisation of economics are there but they all are rooted in 'market economy', cut throat competition and exploitation of the Third World. We can also find creative forces in architecture, cinematography and music but since they are not rooted in spirituality, they are marked by morosity, cynicism and the lack of faith. America has shown a creative genius but having no direction, it resulted in the development of the atomic bomb. America has no doubt have shown a sustained regard for both federalism and democracy but again without high ethical and spiritual values, it has resulted in becoming the 'policeman of the world' and custodian of world hegemony. American leadership limits itself to grants of material aid, whereas world demands spiritual leadership from this mighty power on earth. Thus, if Europe and America reinvigorate their fundamental values of Christianity, they can meet the challenges of the present crisis. We need a civilization-wide

peace and civilization-wide world. For this again it needs spiritual leadership. If the West has to survive, it has to raise the living standards of the millions who still exist in the basest poverty and squalor by practicing maximum austerity and self-control. This will enkindle the creative spirit of the West which had earlier been found in Beethoven's symphonies, motivated Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln to create respect for individual freedom, erected Notre Dame and Rockefeller Centres for world philanthropy. We should remember that science deals with *is*, religion with *ought*. So Einstein said: "Science is lame without religion and religion is blind without science."³² Hence Whitehead has rightly observed: "The future of civilization depends on the degree to which we can balance the forces of science and religion."³³ The great rationalist Bertrand Russell says: "We cannot give scientific justification for the goals that we might pursue, or for the ethical principles that we adopt." Most of the principle, which makes for civilized living are of this ethical character. No scientific reason can be given why it is bad to inflict wanton cruelty on one's fellows."³⁴ Cyril Hinshelwood speaking from his presidential address (1962) to the Royal Society of London says: "Today the reality of the inner world is a flat negation of all that is immediate in existence; to minimise its significance is to depreciate the very purpose of living, and to explain it away as a product of natural selection is a plain folly."³⁵ 'Altruism', as Sorokin says: "Is a special kind of creativeness in the field of goodness, entailing principally ethical values in distinction from the cognitive values of truth realised by science, philosophy etc."³⁶

Gandhian Critique of Western Civilization:

Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*³⁷ is a critique of western civilization as well as his own manifesto of a counter-culture. In short, according to him, material advancement does not necessarily mean moral progress. Industry was not an end in itself. Modern techniques with excessive specialisation have deprived all spontaneity, creative, aesthetic joy and all personal and human significance. Only a few limbs and a few conditioned reflexes are called into service.³⁸ Researches have shown that over 60% workers suffered badly from boredom, in the metallurgical industry 90% without

immediate significance.³⁹ Mechanisation and automation have reduced man to mere clog in the wheel, where men are corrupted and degraded.⁴⁰ The industrialists through the supply of standardized ready-made amusements make us mechanical imbecile in our leisure. A UNESCO study complains of the lack of community satisfaction in modern culture.⁴¹ The *Price of Progress* is too great for its in a neurotic society.⁴² Modern technism and centralism appears to be the inherent sociological tendency of industrial growth involving a great sacrifice of human values.⁴³ It is only a phase of material progress. But it may be that 20th century will see our technological civilization end by its own devices in a mighty shambles.⁴⁴ Schumacher laments the loss of quality of life and in the curse of bigness.⁴⁵ Mechanics and technics have become a source of idolatry. Man today is a slave of machine. Slavery dehumanises man from within resulting in the loss of mediative, the creative and the spiritual enrichment.⁴⁶ Infact, western civilization has been born of *forced labour* and reared upon it. There is totalitarian monopoly of mass-media which has opened up indoctrination without parallel in the past.⁴⁷ The refinement of technology have enabled the rules to perfect and project their controls over the whole range of social life. Modern technology has made human labour more monstrous. We find the Frankenstein of modern technology with the horrors of war and technological unemployment.⁴⁸ Industrial hazards have become horrible. Our social system is full of tension and strain. The cause to all contradiction is centralism in production and in power leading to exploitation and oppression.⁴⁹ Through mechanisation of agriculture, there is the *Rape of the Earth* degrading the soil to quench our inordinate lust for wealth and power. Then it is the civilization and not the soil that comes to the end.

The modern civilization has developed to meet and suit the needs and interests of the greedy and acquisitive person resulting in imbalance in society leading to violence and war. Centralisation in politics amounts to negation of democracy. Technological culture has caused the devaluation of the human arm and of man and animal as a source of physical power.⁵⁰ The Machine was made for man but today man has become the slave of machines. There

should not be too much of ease and luxury. Toynbee⁵¹ has shown that ease and luxury has been most fatal foes of 27 civilizations. John Galbraith's warning against the mad rush for industrialisation is clear.⁵² Marcuse says that "slaves of developed industrial civilization are sublimated slave, but they are slaves, for slavery is determined."⁵³ Gandhi, therefore, pleaded for limiting our indulgences. The mind is a restless bird, the more it gets the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become.⁵⁴ Gandhi's attack on machinery was because it is the chief symbol of modern civilization.

The real test of civilization is to raise man to a higher moral level, where as the hall mark of modern civilization is materialism and selfishness.⁵⁵ Gandhi envisages a healthy civilization where there is progess with purity, development with creativity, prosperity with peace of mind. He measured progress in terms of happiness. Real historical progress "pertain to progress in the inner being of man rather than an extension of power over nature or other human beings of territories."⁵⁶ It has to reveal man's progress or regress in terms of morality. Einstein also said: "The most important human endeavour is the striving for morality in our actions." The bulk of the current sociological and psychological literature is a "crisis literature" preoccupied with the theme of social disintegration and psycho-neurotic disorder resulting from the growth of an over-centralised, over mechanised industrial structure.⁵⁷ Masses of men have been huddled into hideous over-crowded cities like "cages of human spirit", which is a "pathological phenomenon"⁵⁸ the fountain source of devitalisation and delinquency. Gandhi's concept of Swaraj is a concept of purity and perfection. Swaraj is the ideal and civilization is the mirror of Swaraj. Science and Technology are important forces of civilization but they are means, nor end. Man is the supreme consideration. To elevate the moral being should be our goal.

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MODERNISM IN HINDI POETRY

—Charu Sheel Singh*

The first part of the article discusses chief causes and characteristics of the growth of modernism in the West and in India. The second part attempts to discuss modernism's enumerated characteristics in Hindi poetry from the time of Bhartendu Harishchandra upto roughly the 1940s. This will be mainly a synoptic view. The third and the most important part of the article finds out modernist elements in Hindi poetry from the 1940s upto the present. The fourth part concludes and generalises.

I

Movements get themselves transplanted from one soil to another for reasons that are not always empirically discernible. Modernism could be generally understood as an attempt in which society seeks to legitimate its range of signifying systems by a process that grows from within and is abhorningly independent of external verities, traditions, deities or religious mythology. In other words, as Jurgen Habermas said, modernity has to create its *normativity* out of itself. Modernism¹ is a highly complex literary phenomenon both at the conceptual level and at the level of poetic practice. It grew as a kind of reaction against romanticism and the Enlightenment concept of reason during the early 1890s and was influential roughly till the end of World War II. John McGowan says that "Modernism, in fact, offers no distinctive transformative vision of its own; instead, different modernists recycle different versions of high romanticism's synthetic visions or realism's radical political utopias. What is distinctive about modernism is its strategy of engagement with the enemy, its opting for an endless battle with the philistines or for a complete separation from them."²

Modernism in Hindi poetry could be traced to a

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certain reaction that took place after World War II against the poetry written chiefly in the romantic-symbolist tradition. "The New Poetry" in English during the twenties broke away with traditional verse-forms, prosodic limitations, and accepted norms of poetic language. This is important to mention because the *Navageet* (new song) of Hindi Poetry is not as influenced by, or translated from, the New Poetry in English as it is generally made out to be. Dr. Shambhu Nath Singh rightly holds: "Some people understand that *Navageet* is coined after the 'New Poetry'. Obviously, *Nai Kavita* is a translation of English 'New Poetry'. With the publication of *Tar Saptak*, the new style of poetry that came into vogue was called experimental... the Imagist poets in Europe, like Ezra Pound, Cummings, and others, changed and experimented with newer forms of poetry by rejecting rhythm, rhyme, and stanza, and opting for free verse which was prose language broken into a sequential network. These characteristics were generally known as Experimental. However, in England, New Lyric or New Song did not develop into any *ism*. Therefore, *Navageet* cannot be taken as imported from the West.... The conclusion is that *Navageet* is not an imported characteristic from the West like *Nai Kavita* nor is it coined upon the latter."³

But *Navageet* is only one aspect of modernist trends found in Hindi poetry. Modernism in Hindi poetry is the collective name that chiefly assimilates subsidiary movements characterised by Progressive, Experimental, Realist, Realist-Idealist and intellectual tendencies. Historically though, modernism in Hindi poetry could be traced back to a relatively older period on which there is a general agreement of opinion. The period is conveniently divided into four parts: (i) Bhartendu Era from 1868 to 1900 A.D. (ii) Dwivedi Era from 1900 to 1918 A.D. (iii) Naturalist-symbolist Era from 1918 to 1938 A.D., and (iv) Post 1938 Era which runs upto the present. The period could further be divided on the basis of related and sub-related tendencies.

A few of the characteristics of modernism were earlier pointed out. It is significant to note that Modernism as it emerged in India could be taken as a

simultaneous development along the struggle for freedom. Here again, thinkers, political philosophers, and social reformers educated abroad played their vital role in ushering modernist ideas. Such changes were visible with the advent of the British who initially came for commerce to India but who eventually became its cultural missionaries more in a positive than in a negative sense. Such an advent was full of a hermeneutic enterprise that was nothing short of a cultural renaissance for India. Such efforts were later supplemented by the Germans among other European countries. The fact that Sanskrit was first translated into English and other European languages itself constituted a modernist development. Mahatma Gandhi, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Aurobindo Ghosh, Rabindra Nath Tagore, among many other thinkers were influenced by Western modes of thinking in varying capacities. Jawahar Lal Nehru contributed no less by making industry and science the cornerstones of his developmental policy. Although this process, the contribution of the British (exploitation notwithstanding), is only much too apparent in laying down some of the basic infrastructural facilities.

After 1850 onwards, because of the earlier advent of the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French, Indian disunity was thoroughly exposed, and if the advent of foreign trading companies proved any positive point, it was only that it helped in ushering a new social philosophy whose roots could be traced not exactly in the philosophy of Marx but in the native humanistic philosophy of Buddhism chiefly regenerated by stalwarts like Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar among others.

The coming in and dominance of a humanist philosophy which places man at the centre of whole agricultural, industrial and scientific enterprise is what distinguishes modernism from all other modes of medieval thinking where man as an epistemic reality was consistently denied his existence against an endless array of supplementary systems which superposed themselves upon man in the form of religion, hegemony of ideas of a particular group of people resulting in various kinds of imperisms and degrees of cultural dominance.

The democratisation of the word has been one of the greatest hallmarks of modernism. The Hindi critic Vishwanath Pratap Tewari rightly says : " 'Modernism' on the one hand relates to scientific, industrial experiences, and, on the other, exhibits a distinctive life-perspective—a qualitatively (changed) aspect—which is possible in any age. Who can doubt the modernism of Kabir—a poet of Middle Ages? on the other hand, modernism in many of the contemporary Hindi poets is open to doubt." ⁴

Mr. Tewari also rejects the view, and rightly, that modernism is purely a Western phenomenon emanating from boredom, nausea, guilt, anxiety, frustration, loneliness, etc. "...the bigotry which some people exhibit in the name of Indianness and nationalism will prove to be suicidal for the contemporary man." ⁵ In fact, it was against such forms of religious and national bigotries that modernist discourses a rose, the idea of a university (based on a scientific outlook) took ground, and a new art of narratology made possible by the exchange and communication of men and materials.

It was Hegel, perhaps, first of all, in the West who used the concept of "modernity" in historical contexts. The term was translated into English and French as "modern times" and *temps modernes*. This happened around the year 1800 A. D. Habermas says : "The discovery of the 'new world', the Renaissance and the Reformation—these three monumental events around the year 1500 constituted the epochal threshold between modern times and the middle ages. In his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Hegel used these expressions to classify the German Christian world that had issued from Roman and Greek antiquity." ⁶

Habermas's statement would reflect the relativity in the usage of the term "modernism". Indian modernism, as it has influenced Indian literature in general and Hindi poetry in particular, is born out of a simultaneous existential dichotomy that takes its warp and woof from the West (with reference to different poetic styles within Western modernism) and tries to maintain, with considerable failures, the Vedantic notions of an immutable, immovable, translucent and transcendental

self that transgresses all forms of binarisms and complexities. Ajneya said with reference to *Nai Kavita*: "The realist perspective of *Nai Kavita*, its individualism, whereas it seems to grow from our country on the one hand; on the other, its style, the form of its linguistic symbolism, appears somewhat Western."⁷ Modernism in Hindi poetry cannot be solely understood in terms of sequestered notions of Western existentialism, an atheistic outlook, anxiety, etc., important though they are as sources of powerful influence. Gayatri Vaishya's view that "a major part of (Hindi) *Nai Kavita* does not seem to grow from the Western modes of life",⁸ should be taken with a great deal of caution and critical perspective.

Modernism is also a consciousness of a certain Total Episteme (Krishna in the East and Jesus in the West), socially, religiously, and philosophically understood, which it is trying to escape and relate itself to simultaneously. The conflict between floating signifiers (understood in terms of Derrida's concept of *trace*) and static, conventional ones, is what gave birth to Romanticism—a phenomenon that was so acutely conscious of its egotistic proportions that it raised them, somewhat unsuccessfully, to the level of the transcendental sublime. Habermas thought in terms of simultaneous birth of romanticism and modernity in so far as they emphasized an autonomy with varying degrees of velocity in their respective turns of emphasis. John McGowan says: "The romantics, like all the other inhabitants of modernity, recognise autonomy as liberating, and it is the variations of their responses to and attempts to use autonomy that differentiate the various periods and movements within the two-hundred years of history of romanticism. Postmodernism, as one phase in that history, represents a new set of attitudes toward autonomy."⁹ A simple example in the variation of such attitudes could be given by pointing out the case of Hegel (who enshrined reason) and Blake (who enshrined Imagination). In the British tradition, Blake associated all forms of reason with what he called the infernal trinity of Bacon-Newton-Locke who constituted the Satanic Selfhood.

Of late, modernism has grown and rightly come to

be seen as a highly complex phenomenon. "The complexity of modernism stems from its containing both the spiritualistic, religious impulses of high romanticism and the scientific, rationalistic impulses of realism while at the same time bringing to centre stage the issue of art's autonomy. Modernism can never decide if it wants to occupy the fully secular and political world of modernity that realism attempts to master or if it wants to escape into some separate aesthetic realm that is more free and more pure than the world of ordinary human making."¹⁰

The negative side of (Post)modernism of which much has been made by the conventionalists, is shown to dissolve certainties, having a suspicious relationship with humanism, and, in fact, to the whole Western philosophical tradition, contemporary in particular. Ferdinand de Saussure, Claude Levi Strauss and Derrida, who build up their philosophical and analytical (structure?) process of structuration on differentialism and talk of freedom by keeping pluralisms alive tell their own story of what postmodernism is all about. Michel Foucault alone seems to be bridging the gap between the structure and the process of structuration. John McGowan feels that postmodernism presents us with, or tries to encounter, a realm of experience which is free from the constraints of morality and utility, religion and science. If this has been the case with modernism in the West from Romanticism upto the time of Nietzsche, in India it has been no different. We have had abolition of princely states, formation of an Indian union where states were *subjected* to a Centre (subjectivity not implying coerciveness), and the modernist hermeneutical interpretations of the Indian sacred and religious texts—chiefly began by Charles Wilkins, William Jones, Alexander Dow, N. B. Halhed, A. J. Arbery, among many others most of whom were members of the East India Company. This process was later continued by Max Muller (1823-1900) and the monumental Harvard Oriental Series—all of which helped in establishing Indic studies as a discipline in the West. What is being argued is this that the establishment of Indology as a discipline in Western universities and other centres of learning is an event of no

mean consequence and that this event is simultaneous with the ushering in of modernism in India. It is needless to emphasize here that all this became possible because of the English language.

Native commentators upon Indian sacred texts—chiefly Aurobindo, Tagore, Gandhi, Tilak and the most distinguished Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (apart from their journalistic writings)—played no less a key role in the rise, growth and development of modernism in India. This will conclude that the Indian struggle for independence, establishment of Indology as a discipline, new hermeneutical interpretations of sacred texts, journalistic writings—all have proved to be significant socially determining forces in governing modes of modernist and contemporary artistic expression. Religious movements like Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj and above all, the pioneering work of Swami Vivekananda—the disciple of great Swami Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Swami Ram Tirtha, all played a vital role in resurging India to a modernist humanist consciousness that was not visible after the advent of Adi Shankaracharya in the Indian tradition.

II

There is a common agreement of opinion that modernist era in Hindi poetry begins with Bhartendu Harishchandra, also known as the Bhartendu Era (1868-1900 A.D.). Other poets of this age were Pratap Narain Mishra, Ambika Dutt Vyas, Radhakrishna Das, Badri Narain Chaudhary Premghan, and Thakur Jagmohan Singh among others. The poetry of these poets depicts a glorious past, in the light of which it ruefully glosses over pre-Independence social, political and religious situations. Bhartendu and his associate poets even linked themselves to local problems of unemployment, octroi, police, and spoke freely in favour of Hindi as the mother tongue (often in opposition to the English). The language that the poets of this era chose varied from the *Brij* and *Avadhi* to the *Khari boli* in which words from Sanskrit, English, Urdu, and even other Indian languages occupied their contextually appropriate places. "Not only this", as Dr. Jagadish Joshi feels, "these poets, by

experimenting with locally popular folk forms of *Allha*, *Kajali*, *Lavani*, *Mukari*, *Thumari* and *Gajal*, and carrying them along *Kavita*, *savaiya*, *Tol* and *Chappaya*, awakened new possibilities of poetic style."¹² This also proves that modernism in India was constituted by linking old folk forms of singing with a language that was still taking shape in the form of *Khari boli* as the accepted language of poetic composition.

On the conceptual level many of these poets were influenced by reformist movements of Aarya and Brahma Samaj. There were also poets influenced by Western modes of thinking; they, however, tried to write a poetry of conformity without repudiating either the East or the West in the light of each other. Theirs is not a rebel poetry in any case. Decorative poetry, inspired by the versions of the female, or of God, peculiar to the earlier era of *Reeti Kal* continued to be written during the Bhartendu era though it occupied a very minor position. On the whole, the chief characteristic of the poetry of this period is a faithful adherence to the social reality of the time, intellectualism and a descriptive narrative that often carries an aesthetic life-perspective. Most of the poets of this era tried to synthesize the old with the new. Acharya Ram Chandra Shukla, the distinguished Hindi critic said: "The important thing to notice in the poets of that confluence age is that they blend the old and the new in such a way that there is no joint visible—in their hands, even the new appeared as a form of the development of the old."¹³

The poetry of patriotic sentiment that emerged during the Bhartendu era continued in the era of Acharya Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (1900-1918). Though himself a poet of no great distinction, Mahavir Prasad exercised a great influence upon a whole generation of poets mainly through his critical and prose writings. The important poets of this generation are Maithili Sharan Gupta, Ayodhya Singh Uupadhyaya Hariaudh, Sridhar Pathak, Ram Charit Upadhyaya, Rai Deviprasad Poorna, Nathu Ram shanker, Ram Naresh Tripathi, Jagannath Das Ratnaker, Gaya Prasad Shukla Sanehi, and Satya Narain Kaviratna, among others.

The Poets of this era continued their experiment of old with the new. *Khari boli* was occupying a far more

important place than *Brij bhasha*. This only means that *Khari boli* was becoming the mode of expression of modernist experiences and feelings. Dr. Uma Kant feels that the first two decades of the twentieth century in Hindi poetry saw a march from femininely-adorative poetry to a poetry of nationalism, from a poetry of decayed stagnancy to a poetry of progress and freedom from all kinds of superstitions.¹⁴

In his 1797 Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* Wordsworth had advocated the use of the common language of the people in poetry; his emphasis also fell upon common man and his problems as the subject of poetry. Something similar was achieved in Hindi poetry by poems like "*Kisan*" (1917) and "*Anath*" (1917) written respectively by Maithili sharan Gupta and Siya Ram Saran Ji. Sanehi's "*Krishak Krandan*" depicts a farmer's life while Nathu Ram Sharma's "*Garbha-randa-rahsya*" picks up the problem of widowhood among women, sometimes even before they are born.

Nature has also been very well portrayed in the poems by Maithili Sharan and Ram Chandra Shukla. Ram Naresh Tripathi, Gopal Sharan Singh, Lochan prasad Pandeya, Girdhar Sharma, among others do not lag behind in the portrayal of nature. Their depiction of nature is unlike their *Riti*-era predecessor poets in whose poetry everything in nature was seen in terms of a voluptuous hero and heroine in binary formation. Although the nature-depiction of Dwivedi era poets cannot be compared with that of the *Chayavaadi* era poets, still the former show enough variety, imagination, and aesthetic sense in their treatment of nature. It can only be recalled here that Renaissance and Reformation in the Western tradition are attitudes to nature.

The Renaissance takes nature as a form of exploration while the Reformation takes it as a form of reason. Similarly, return to nature has also been taken as a prelude to the coming of modernist element in Hindi poetry. In the *Riti*-Era, under the archetypal image of Krishna and Radha, nature was very often treated as an object of bodily enjoyment by the supplementary figures of the hero and the heroine. In the Dwivedi era, the use of the

intellectual element in the perception of the objects of nature made nature a form of human reason as opposed to a divinely inspired poetry. In the Dwivedi era the birth of a humanist attitude towards man and nature is visible for the first time. The poetry of this era could be called a poetry of cultural resurgence and social re-formation.

Chayavadi (naturalist-romantic-symbolist) era in Hindi poetry roughly begins in the year 1918 and remained influential till the early 1940s. The stalwarts of this school of poetry are Jai Shanker Prasad, Sumitra Nandan Pant, Surya Kant Tripathi Nirala and Mahadevi Verma. A great many modernist elements come into Hindi poetry during this period—chief of them being romantic individualism. But this individualism, by and large, is modelled on the earlier native, Vedantic tradition, and is accompanied by its own aesthetic sense, feelings of pity and pantheistic emotions. Mysticism becomes a powerful element of this poetry which relates it to the whole tradition of divine school poetry of the saint-poets. The *Chayavadi* individualism does not grow, as in Western tradition, out of nausea, boredom, anxiety and frustration parallels of which, to some extent, could be found in the contemporary Hindi poetry.

The *Chayavadi* adorative strain in Hindi poetry is different from the *Riti*-era poets where beauties of nature and the world are metamorphosed chiefly into the image of a hero and heroine. The *Chayavadi* poet's adorative-decorative symbol (of nature) is in the Transcendental mode for most of the time whereas the *Riti*-era symbol is chiefly in the empirical and aesthetic mode. Nature could be taken as a female in both these schools but *Chayavadi* female is an archetypal image modelled upon *Gita*'s concept of *maya* as God's creative power. This female in *Chayavadi* poetry transcends the immediacy of the personal-figural in favour of a transcendental, mythic-mystic-aesthetic realm.

The poetry of national sentiment continued to be written during this period as India was still not free from the British. The British might have, in certain cases, given signifiers of liberalism but they themselves became its targets. For this image in this period remains at best a metaphor and a simile and seldom acquires the status of

a symbol which is often the product of calmer times. Poets who wrote patriotic poetry in order to awaken nationalist consciousness during this period were Makhan Lal Chaturvedi, Siya Ram Saran Gupta, Bal Krishana Sharma Naveen, and Subhadra Kumari Chauhan, among others.

III

The Post-*Chayavadi* era, also known as Progressive-Experimental era in Hindi poetry, is accepted to exist between 1938 and 1953; the period from 1953 up to the present is taken to be an era of new writing. Dr. Jagadish Joshi feels, and rightly, that "Progressive strain in poetry is an important achievement of the post-*Chayavadi* (romantic-symbolist) poetry to which poets writing in many poetic modes have contributed their bit. For example, on the one hand, we find this strain in Nirala's "Kukur-muth" and Pant's "*Yugvani*" and "*Gramya*," on the other, this strain is also visible in poets like Shamsheer Bahadur Singh, Muktibodh, Ram Vilas Sharma, and Kedar Nath Agrawal, who belong to the Experimental and New Poetry Schools (of Hindi poetry)."¹⁵ Dr. Joshi's sense of inter-relationship among various trends of Hindi poetry is just and commendable.

Dr. Shiv Prasad Singh puts the transition from the *Chayavad* to the later poetry like this: "The tremors of expression and anxiety that are their before Muktibodh are not there for Prasad. For Prasad, depth psychology, pity-situations and aesthetic-consciousness problems are far more important...Ajñeya and Muktibodh both face the problem of expression. Ajñeya wants to make the Inexpressible whereas Muktibodh encounters the whole cycle of history in a lightless dark in search of his be-ing-ness."¹⁶

Paramanand Srivastava also feels that in the *Chayavadi* poetry itself could be traced the traits of struggle for individual freedom and an attempt to grip the empirical reality while still trying to live in the present. Nirala's "*Torti Patthar*," "*Kukurmutta*," "*Naye Patte*" are few among many poems that break the *Chayavadi* tradition. But going back to the Progressive (Pragativadi) for the time being which preceded a little bit the Experimental (*Prayogvadi*). Parmanand Srivastava says: "Around 1936, the rise of the left wing

in Congress which was till now limited to the middle and the lower middle class, and Nehru's attitude to the industrial culture and socialist outlook-the impact of all this is visible on Progressive poetry."¹⁷ There is little room for disagreement with the noted critic's opinion. However, a few facts should also be added. In 1936, no less a person than Munshi Prem Chand himself focussed upon the aims and methods of Progressive movement. Later, literary journals like *Roopabh* (published from Kalakankar), *Hans* and *Kashi* analysed and discussed Progressive literature and ideology.

While Progressive School poets reflect upon social problems, they, at the same time, carry a revolutionary attitude which would do away with all forms of capitalism and inequalities between the rich and the poor. Most of the poets, directly or indirectly, show an influence of Marx and his ideology. Poets who have written in the Progressive mode (and later transcended or even disagreed with it) are Nirala, Pant, Muktibodh, Kedar Nath Agrawal, Ram Vilas Sharma, Nagarjuna, Shiv Mangal Singh Suman, Trilochan Shastri and Rangeya Raghav among others. Consider the following poem by Muktibodh in which he describes the destruction of an old system and the creation of a new:

Old house, had to fall, fell
What is bad?
Big, strong, haughty
Pillars-they fell !!

—(*Ek Bhootpoorva Vidrohi Ka Atma-Kathan*)

Progressive poetry is often a poetry of tension and trouble where the language cannot function at the anagogic level and become a symphony of the scales of time and eternity. In fact, the language finds it hard to function even at the level of the analogue for that would *relate* the dissipated relationships. Nagarjun writes on famine and poverty—

Grains come to house after many days
Smoke arose over the courtyard after many days
The eyes of the house shined after many days
The crow ruffl'd its plumes after many days
Here, the scene, the situation, and the sentiment is local. The language is very close to being colloquial. There

is understandably no protagonist in the poem for it is famine. It is, at best, a poetry of descriptive images where there is enough time to feel the emotion in spite of the tension and agony involved in experience.

The Experimental Poetry (*Prayogvadi Kavita*) began to be written in 1943 with the publication of *Tar-Saptak* edited by the distinguished poet-critic Hiranand Sachinand Vatsyayana 'Ajneya'. Seven poets were included here — Gajanan Madhav Muktibodh, Nemi Chand, Bharat Bhushan, Prabhakar Machwe, Girija Kumar Mathur, Ram Vilas Sharma and Ajneya himself. Ajneya wrote in the Introduction: "Experiments have always been carried out and only by experiments poetry or any other art, any creative work can be taken forward." Ajneya had also defined the word "experiment" in poetry as follows— "Accepting language as insufficient, with the help of period, symbols, numbers and straight and slant lines, by small or big type, front or inverted letters, by the names of persons and places, half-sentences— by all available means the poet began his commerce in order that he could take his entangled sensibility to the reader."

It must be pointed out that there was a considerable difference of opinion in the poets put together in the *Tar-Saptak*. Kedar Nath Singh disagreed with Ajneya's opinion that realism only produces frustration. He called this statement "unfortunate," particularly when a different group of slogans was needed altogether in order to free Hindi poetry from romantic sentimentalism. Girija Kumar Mathur said that the *Tar-Saptak* poets emphasized technique more than the subject in hand. The emphasis cannot fall upon the scientific description of detail which would kill poetry. Objects, for poetic treatment, can only be viewed from an aesthetic distance as opposed to scientific objectivity.

Ajneya also edited subsequent *Tar-Saptak* collections. The poetry of Experiment, however, lasted till 1950 when it gave birth to the *Nai Kavita* (New poetry). Dr. Shambhu Nath Singh considers Nirala as the originator both of New Poetry and of *Nav-geet* (New Song). He recounts: "A few years after 1950 A.D., a conference was held at Allahabad of such type of poets where *Nai*

Kavita was given its formal name, and Experimentalism, Progressivism, and the traditional epic-poem were taken to belong to the poetic habits of a by-gone era. Under the auspices of this platform of *Nai-Kavita*, under the editorship of Dr. Jagadish Gupta, a quarterly magazine '*Nai Kavita*' was also published".¹⁸

Ajneya's edition of the first and the subsequent three *Tar-Saptak* collections of poems carried their own variety and multiciplicities of different size and colours. These new type of poems Ajneya named "*Nai kavita ka geet*"—the song of the new poetry. It will be appropriate here to mention that innovations in the technique of writing (itself a modernist tendency) owed a great deal to the Westren influence. Ajneya, on whom much of the modernist movement in post-1950 Hindi poetry centres, had a lot of exposure in the West. He first went to Europe in 1955 on the invitation of UNESCO and later became professor of Indian Culture and Literature at the University of California in 1961—a post he held up o July 1964. In this connection it would be appropriate to mention the name of Harivansh Rai Bacchan also who has been a prominent poet in the *Nav-geet* tradition. He had his Ph.D. in English from Cambridge on the occult element in the poetry of W.B. Yeats.

Quite a few other poets and critics regard modernism as the very soul and consciousness of post-Indepenednce Hindi poetry. The names of Indra Nath Madan (*Kavita Aur Kavita*), Nand Dulare Bajpai (*Dharmyug*, 6th August 1967, p. 18) and Shambhu Nath Singh are again important here. The importance of Muktibodh's *Nai Kavita Ka Atma Sanghrsha tatha Anya Nibandh* remains of paramount importance.

Of the qualities found in the *Nai Kavita*, one could say that the common man, along with his common problems, has got adequate representation; one could also say that New poetry is realistic without believing in the imitative theory of literature. The New Poetry of the 50s and 60s almost functions as a reflector of life from close quarters. The New poetry is a blend of realism, poetic innovation and imagination. There is a great deal of intellectual element in the whole life-perspective of poets and nothing is considered profane to remain outside the limits of poetry. The boundary line between the sacred and

the profane is completely erased—a remarkable modernist trait. While such a humanistic perspective dominates, the nuances of individuality have been meticulously preserved in the individual's search for a Vedantic self-discovery in a modern context.

Quite a few poems of this period also represent frustration, anxiety, negation, total loss of belief in the system or in God; such poems present a dystopoeic vision against the utopian poems of the *Chayavadi* era. A few poems also look up to the future which may be better or worse. There is an overwhelming tendency of self-analysis. Images, symbols and metaphors often relate themselves to a body-symbolism that occasionally becomes Archetypal in its meaning-intentionality. However, the micro and macro level interfusion is missing and we still have to wait for the poet of a future *Bhagavadgita* (the Total Poem). All forms of colloquialisms are freely used and made part of a psyche that interrelates them to a (dis)integrated vision of life.

It could be seen that in the New Poetry, since the overall vision attempted is that of a *Virat*, the image which was a symbol in the *Chayavadi* era, had again become a metaphor in the poetry that was written after Mahadevi Verma. However, in the New Poetry, the image incarnates itself not only as a metaphor but also knocks at the door of a symbol that is part of a larger symbolical structure. New Poetry, while rejecting a myth and old mythical structures, is creating, and perhaps unknowingly, a mythological system that could be accountable to its own warring fibres of sensibility. Let us consider a few poems that would enumerate modernist traits already cited. This is how Girija Kumar Mathur laments the phenomenon of meaninglessness in his poem "*Sabda-Sunya*"—

It appears now
from everything
some big meaning-complex
has been cut.

For once (it appears)
everything has gone wrong

.....

.....

Now everybody has learnt

to play with intentions, hopes and promises
 now the place of the *karma*
 is taken over by the word

The poem depicts the hypocrisy of modern society in more or less a straightforward language where images are content to play with other images without caring to become either the metaphor or the symbol. One only wishes that the syntax of this poem could have been a little more complex, a little bit more *complicatedly* used in order to get home the feeling of vacuity.

The modern poet breaks old mythology in terms of contemporary contexts—

Even from the bones of saints
 gods could make only weapons
 why was not manure made
 which would have made a juicy earth fruitful
 and would have been of use to people
 ("Devasur"—Ajneya)

In verses like these the sacredness of scripture is questioned, the existence of gods seen from the windows of an analytical mind, and the hierarchical order inverted in favour of a new value-system. The same poem continues—

Devils will always remain mighty
 because gods are dependent
 upon somebody.....

Here, with the help of the images of the gods and demons, Ajneya is able to carry the meaning-implications that can be variously interpreted in a contemporary context. The stanza also reflects the nature of modern hermeneutical interpretations of tradition.

Because of the problems of evaluation, the poet Shamsher has not been able to occupy the place accorded to Ajneya and Muktibodh in Hindi poetry. In my view, shamsher is one poet of *Nai Kavita* who makes an extremely deft use of the syntax, and whose images and symbols are very much in the tradition of Eliot and Pound's theories of Imagism. Consider his poem "*Tooti Hui, Bikhari Hui*," the broken and the scatter'd—

Broken and scatter'd
 Wet leaves of tea under the feet
 My poem

Hairs splutter'd, rude like dirt, fallen, still
 To the neck stuck
 somewhat like this my skin
 Separate from me, mixed
 In the dust

This is the existential mode of style at work where the meaning creeps in and creeps out in agonised moments of torture often self-made and self-generated. The epi-centre of such lines is the self of a poet that participates in experience, partakes of it, yet feels separate from the lived reality.

Kedar Nath Agrawal shows how a straightforward syntax could yet be limpid, transparent while reflecting reality at the empirical level of the image and the metaphor—

The river is a young, haughty girl
 Who has come to the plains from the mountains
 Whose pelvis is open
 Who is full of laughter
 Who is very beautifully made

("Nadi Ek Naujwan Dith Laraki Hai")

What is significant here is this that while Indian poets may have been inspired by Freud and Vatsyayana's *Kam-Sutra*, the ideological tradition that they inherit prohibits them, and perhaps unconsciously, to use sex organs as part of their imagistic repertoire.

Poems like "*Laloo Sahu*" by Nagarjun fulfil Wordsworthian theory of making common man the subject of poetry. The poem mocks at the practice of sati (women burning themselves over the death of their husbands) by making the protagonist jump into the fire of the pyre of his wife thus bringing a sort of anti-climax. The corruption at the level of the police is also highlighted where so many kinds of certificates are required to certify death. There is also an existential tinge to the whole episode of death and the consequent drama that follows. But there is no emergent philosophy in the poem in the light of which the putative arguments of the poem could be seen and laid to rest.

Bereaved Laloo Sahu
 Jump'd into the pyre of
 His wife

People prohibited Laloo not to do it
 They pray'd him again & again
 Requested lakhs of times
 Laloo would not listen.....
 Sixty-three year old Laloo became
 A 'Sati' by putting himself
 Into the pyre of his sixty year
 Old wife.

Irony and pathos go here together; there is also a total sense of inversion. The meaning-dimension is gradually unfolded but never exploded. The syntax works up to the theme, unhorrorified, unruffled, like marble statues of dead persons waking up to the anti-climax of a black day.

Muktibodh's poem "*Vichar Ate Hain*" postpones the final moment of decision letting it hang between time and eternity. The poem is comparable to T.S. Eliot's "*The Hollow Men*" where the same mode of presentation is adopted—

Ideas come
 not at the time of writing,
 (but) while carrying weight upon the back
 (and) on the head

Here, the meaning is sipped through and not treacherously glanced at. There is hardly any complex variation in the presentation of images which melt themselves into a larger poetic framework that is metaphorically put at the back of the poem's experience. Bhavani Prasad Mishra's "*Maja Tab Hai*" invites comparison with the Japanese Haiku—

The joy is
 when we (shall) burn
 and the world
 (shall) catch fire

Today
 whatever happens
 is like this that
 we give smoke
 and people
 get out
 rubbing their
 eyes

Poems like these are evocative of situations that are dependent for their survival upon mental constructs. The obscurity of the poem is the loss of man's self-identity—a trait so characteristic of modernism.

Kedar Nath Singh's poems often exhibit the countryside local colour where common man's hopes, frustrations, and aspirations are highlighted. There is Arnoldian "high seriousness" in his poetry, and the universal forces at the human level are terrifically at work. Consider his poem "*Surya*"—

He enters like the salt in the blood
The night-bread kept on a height
Springs a bit in the joy of his coming
And falls down in the sleep of a hungry man—

This is pathos generated by society as well as by existence itself. The images, metaphores, look for a placement in the existential structure which is as illusive as the bread which always falls short of the hunger of man. Still, there is no sense of urgency in the poem. Like the Indian sensibility itself, there is a sad quietitude upon which the plaintive rhythm of the poem attempts to sing a Vedic hymn outgrown in proportion and meaning-content.

It is wiser to take Hindi New Poetry as an extension and development of the earlier poetry of Experiment. This view is also adhered to by Dr. Ram Vilas Sharma and Dr. Bajpai.

Another important current of contemporary Hindi poetry has been a parallel development of *Nav-geet*—New Song. Dr. Shambhu Nath Singh recounts that in the first conference of various groups of Hindi poets that took place at Allahabad under the auspices of the PARIMAL, he had read a poem "*Purvaiya Dheere Baho*". "Before the recitation of the song (*geet*) I had said that other fellow-poets have recited new poems, I am going to recite a new song (*nav-geet*). This way, without any consultation or proposal of a new manifesto, the use of the word *nav-geet* for the first time had begun on the platform of the New Poetry itself".¹⁹

Hindi poetry of the seventies got divided into different groups and took different names like *Akavita* (non-poetry), *Bhookhi Pidhi Ki Kavita* (poetry of the hungry generation), *Digambar Kavita* (naked poetry), *Sahaj Kavita*

(easy poetry), etc. etc. Under the inspired stewardship of Dr. Namwar Singh, Chandra Dev Singh and Mahendra Shanker, in the seventies, had brought about a collection of experimental songs. The collection was published by Bhartiya Jñana Pith in 1969 under the title *Panch Jor Bansuri* (Fivefold Flute). Dr. Shambhu Nath Singh, however, feels that "*Panch Jor Bansuri*" does not authentically represent the style of *Nav-geet*; it is a collection of post-*Chayavadi* poets' way of writing songs".²⁰

Contemporary Hindi poetry could be said to be a little more closer to Postmodernism in that it is often characterised by a certain tension and a certain ideology not always perceptible. Consider Srikant Verma's "*Kashi Main Shav*"—

Have you seen Kashi
where the way a
dead body goes
the same way
a dead body comes

The description grows morose, feelings temper the body, cripple the imagination when life as paradox grows in its proportion. the syntax becomes existentially viable with one negation after another neither leading to the Buddhist *Sunya* nor to the Upanishadic beyond the beyond.

Parmanand Srivastava's choice of sarvershwar, Kunwar Narain, Kedar Nath Singh, Vijai Dev Narain Sahi, apart from Srikant Verma, as representing contemporary Hindi poetry²¹ could only be said to be as arbitrary as any choice could be, and by the end of the century, we shall need very competent critics— familiar both with the poetry writing traditions of the East and the West— to account for the variety, versatility, vigour, imitation, transformation, ideology, philosophy and style of the Hindi poetry of the past fifty years.

IV

The foregoing analysis would show that Hindi poetry is a force that has been growing enormously decade after decade. The need is to save it from bigots, and first of all, from Hindi zealots who would stop all kinds of external

influences under the patriotic, nationalist and religious garb. It has been a material fact that movements in Hindi poetry have been coming and going as movements in English poetry have come and gone though there could be no one to one correspondence. The English, on the other hand, are very often dependent for their creative inspiration upon the French and the American poets. What is important in this transaction is the inflow and outflow of styles, methodologies, referential frameworks, etc. that create a parallel culture of sorts. Only a combination of the local and the cosmopolitan could save not only poetry but also the world.

Ajneya and Jagadish Gupta lament the level of criticism in Hindi. Their worry is that a poet is praised or looked down upon on the basis of the ideology that he professes and the scheme of economic reforms that he has. Both Ajneya and Jagadish Gupta edited a collection of poems²² in which they emphasized that a poet may have been influenced by many styles, many ideologies or none at all at the same time. The focus of all genuine criticism must fall upon their poetry itself. I would suggest that it is not only our poets who have to be globally in touch with the poetry of as many countries as possible (even in translation) but also our critics who can see continually what our cultural fibres can assimilate from other sources, creatively reformulate it and reproduce it. One need not mention that this is also true of poets writing in other cultures and living in other traditions of other countries.

NOTES AND REFERENCES :

1. Modernism is not to be confused with modernity. The former is purely a literary movement while the latter reflects a social tendency prevalent in the West for at least three hundred years now. The modernist tendency is anti-authoritarian, anti-feudal, anti-romantic and often anti-regulatory. It creates norms only to destroy and re-create them in an endless process.
2. John McGowan, *Postmodernism and its Critics* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 7-8.
3. Dr. Shambhu Nath Singh, ed., *Nav-geet Ardhsati*, Part III (Delhi: Parag Prakashan, 1986), pp. 6-7. All translations from Hindi into English either of prose or of poetry pieces

- are made by me and henceforth should be understood as such.
4. Vishwanath Prasad Tewari, *Rachna Ke Sarokar* (Delhi: Vani Prakashan, 1987), p. 71.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
 6. Jurgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), p. 5. Copyright Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1987. The work originally appeared in German as *Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne: Zwölf Vorlesungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1985).
 7. S.H. Vatsyayana 'Ajneya' quoted in Dr. Gayatri Vaishya, *Charu Chintan* (Delhi: Research, n.d.), p.39.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Postmodernism and its Critics*, p. 5.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. x.
 12. "Introduction", p. 1 in Dr. Jagadish Joshi, ed., *Pratiman* (New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1990).
 13. In *Premghan-Sarwasva*, Part I, Introduction, p. 9.
 14. "Dwivedi-Yug-Awakening-Improvement Era", in *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas*, eds., Dr. Nagendra et al (Delhi : National Pub. House), P. 496.
 15. *Pratiman: Adhunik Kavita Ka Pratinidh Sankalan*, ed., Dr. Jagadish Joshi (N.Delhi: National Publishing House, 1990), p. 3.
 16. "Do Sabd" in Om Prakash Rai, *Adhunikwad Aur Panch Lambi Kavitaon Ka Rachana Shilp* (Varanasi: Archana Prakashar, 1983).
 17. Parmanand Srivastava, ed., *Samkaleen Hindi Kavita* (N. Delhi: Sahitya Akademie, 1990), p. 5.
 18. "Nav-geet Ki Vikas Yatra" in Shambhu Nath Singh ed., *Nav-geet Ardh-Sati*, Part III (Delhi: Parag Prakashan, 1986), p. 13.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 18. Dr. Jagadish Gupta has well taken account of different groups and movements of poets in Hindi poetry after 1960 in No. 8 of the Journal *Nai Kavita*.
 21. See Parmanand Srivastava, ed., *Samkaleen Hindi Kavita*, p. 10.
 22. *Navadha* (Meerut: Bhartiya Sahitya Prakashan, 1983).

BOOK-REVIEW

Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities—D.K. Chakraborti, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, pp. 297; Price : Rs. 495.00

Urbanism in ancient Indian context is a much debated issue. The prevalent views and theories on urbanization in the ancient world fail to explain the complex nature of ancient Indian situation. Several attempts have been made to evolve fresh yardsticks for defining this phenomenon applicable specifically to the process of growth of cities in ancient India. D.K. Chakraborti has been involved with this subject for a long time. Present volume is an outcome of his sustained researches on the subject. The detailed treatment meted out to the subject by Chakraborti is a measure of his thoroughness. His deep understanding of the archaeological phenomena is reflected throughout the book.

The book has been divided into six chapters, the first being introductory. The second chapter deals with the background and origins of the Indus Valley Civilization. The genesis of the Harappan culture has been dealt with at length. The pre/early Harappan levels of this civilization provide a firm foundation for the urban centres that grew subsequently. Chapter three of the book focuses attention on the salient features of the settlement pattern of the Indus Civilization. In view of Chakraborti there is a predominant regionalism in this civilization. He negates the concept of a unified kingdom or the concept of an 'empire' during this age.

Chapter four of the book traces the background of the 2nd urbanization of the Indian history. The decline of the Harappan Civilization, its survival in the form of the Late Harappan Cultural centres, albeit in different ecological setting was followed by a process of cultural contacts and interactions in a sequel which eventually leads to the beginning of the next phase of urban growth. The Chalcolithic cultures, in view of Chakraborti have drawn heavily from the existing cultural traditions. The cultural configurations bespeak of the continuum through successive cultural stages. The Daimabad

bronzes and the associated culture in general in a case of the Harappan influence, travelling upto Deccan. On the other hand, the deep seated local tradition of neolithism and megalithism and chalcolithism have lent a regional character to the subsequent cultures, in view of the author. There are, thus these two dimensions—a local and a diffusionistic one. They work as catalysts in make up of the chalcolithic as well as iron bearing cultures. These successive cultures retained many such traits from the earlier strata. The Ganeshwar-Jodhpura cultural complex the Bhagwanpura-PGW overlap phase have successfully carried many of the Harappan features into the subsequent times. It sounds reasonable on the basis of such continuing traditions to argue that several cultural traits get transported well into the early historic times through such a mechanism. Such a diduction, however, appears to be an oversimplified explanation to a very complex phenomenon of rise of cities in the Gangetic plains. One may easily be tempted to ask questions like, why is it that the Indus style town planning fails to re-emerge during the 2nd urbanization? Or why is it that very little is discernible in cultural configurations to indicate presence of the Indus impact ?

The early historic growth is said to be an outcome of the past processes due to inter-regional and inter-cultural relations. The organisational capacity or growing political system harnesses resources, manages man power and provides the required infrastructure for growth of city centres and thus paves way for the 2nd urbanisation. Technology, in view of Chakraborti has little role to play in urban growth. The specific case cited by him is that of the advent of iron. Not a single crop, he argues, has been added to the list of existing crops. One wonders how is it possible for an emergent technology to bring about changes of such reaching effect ? It is the social priority of application of a new technology that may bring about changes. It is the society that channelises and decides the course through its adaptation process. The early iron using societies in India have harnessed it for war and hunting and not economic growth. Chakraborti seems to pay little attention to the iron tool repertoire of the earliest stage of introduction of iron. There are hardly agricultural implements worth the name present at this stage. Additionally, the wrought iron technology which was in vogue in the beginning was

itself not capable enough to bring about visible changes. The social priorities, at this stage were elsewhere.

The other important issue generally raised in connection with the beginning of the iron and rightly considered by Chakraborti is that of South Indian megaliths. The megalithic culture, it has been argued, remain rural in nature despite large scale use of iron technology. The megalithic builders, in view of the archaeologists have a well defined socio-political structure. May one ask as to why is it that despite such a socio-political organisation (as suggested by Chakraborti) their character remains pre-dominantly rural in nature ? There appears to be a greater emphasis on warfare and marauding in the megalithic society. Their pattern does not demonstrate a sedentary or a prolonged settled life leading to affluent economy. The answer may be that the socio-ecological setting of this region is such that it hampers growth of urban centres and promotes smaller centres of relatively transient nature.

In the discipline of archaeology there would always be divergent opinions and explanations to any issue. What is commendable in this book is the thoroughness of the treatment of the subject and the forceful arguments in support of the contentions. For a student of archaeology this book will be of great value. It is a contribution of vital importance for any one interested in Indian Archaeology.

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. The research paper related to the various fields of Philosophy, Linguistics, Society, Religion, Archaeology, History, and culture, viz., exploration, excavation, conservation, paleography, numismatics, art and architecture etc., notes about the new important discoveries and reviews of the research works will be acceptable for this journal.
 2. The article may be written in Hindi or English.
 3. All manuscripts should be typed in double space, with a wide margin on left side of each page.
 4. As far as possible, abbreviations should not be used, in case they have been incorporated, a complete list of abbreviations used should invariably be given at the end of the References.
 5. The captions of the photographs and line drawings should be mentioned by a soft pencil on the back side of the same. List of such captions should be enclosed along with the article separately with an indication in the text as to where they, and any tables and schedules are to be placed. The upper portion of the photographs should be marked with a vertical line on the back side of the photographs.
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